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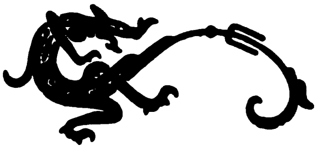

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BUDDHIST SCULPTURES OF THE LIAO DYNASTY

A reassessement of Osvald Siren's study

by

Angela Falco Howard

In his article "Sculptures of the Sung, Liao and Chin Dynasties" written in 1942, Osvald Siren broke new ground attempting to classify, chronologically and stylistically, a large body of sculptures he had studied *in situ,* in China, and in the Western collections.[1] Forty-two years later, Siren's conclusions, although still valuable, are susceptible of a revision based on the richer documentation available, especially the archaeological evidence unearthed in China since 1950.

The present study focuses on the sculptures executed during the Liao dynasty [1] (907–1125). In Siren's article, Liao art was cursorily investigated. For instance, the sculptures adorning the brick pagodas, those embellishing the timber halls, and the smaller gilt bronzes were left aside. All those works will be presented here and studied with the intent of drawing attention to their unique stylistic features. Monuments known to be Liao beyond doubts will be related to the material recently excavated. To conclude this study, one will briefly consider a group of sculptures once in the collection of General J.W.N. Munthe, in Peking. In his article, Siren published several of the sculptures in the General's collection and dated them to the early twelfth century. They lack, however, the necessary stylistic Liao requisites and belong to another period.

The fall of the T'ang, in 907, was followed by sixty years of territorial and political disunity. North of the Yellow River, five short-lived dynasties succeeded each other; south of the Yellow River, ten minor kingdoms ruled over the land. In 960, the Sung reunited North and South except for parts of Shansi and Hopei, the sixteen prefectures which the ruler of the Chin dynasty [2] (936-46) had ceded to the Liao in 938.[2] The Sung managed to contain the barbarians within those territorial boundaries by payment of yearly tributes.

The Liao were semi-nomadic Khitan [3] people. In 907, their leader Apaoki, A-pao-ch'i [4], established the monarchy, the initial stage of the Liao dynasty. By mid-tenth century, his successor was ruling over the aforementioned northern Shansi and Hopei, over present Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang [5] (former Manchuria), over Inner and part of Outher Mongolia. The Khitan rulers instituted a Chinese-type dynasty and adopted Chinese culture, but retained also their own tribal customs and traditional beliefs. The paintings which embellish Liao tombs and the artifacts placed in them well illustrate this independence.[3] Liao Buddhist art, likewise, is strongly characterized by traits which are Khitan not Chinese.

The Liao administration was organized around five capitals placed in different localities of their empire. The Supreme Capital was Lin-huang-fu [6] located very close to modern Pa-lin-tso-ch'i [7], Inner Mongolia. Among the four subordinate capitals, the East Capital was Liao-yang-fu (modern Liao-yang-shih) [8], Liaoning, the Middle Capital was Ta-ting [9] (Ta-ming-ch'eng) [10], Inner Mongolia, the West Capital was Ta-t'ung [11], Shansi, and the South Capital was Yen-ching [12] (modern Peking), Hopei.[4] In all those capitals and their surroundings, the Liao left vestiges of Buddhist art. They built brick pagodas which towered above the plains of Mongolia and Manchuria; they erected timber halls in the land within the walls.

Architectural Sculpture of Brick Pagodas

The brick pagodas were octagonal in structure, less often squarish, and soared at least thirteen stories high, a true display of Liao inclination for the colossal. In those structures, a base, a shaft, and a crown are clearly distinguishable. The plain surface of the shaft is usually adorned with sculpture, mostly executed in brick. At times the images form triads sheltered under canopies or placed in hollow niches. Their arrangement, sometimes, reflects the symmetrical, squarish lay-out of the mandala. Although heavily damaged and probably drastically restored, the pagodas' sculptures are here presented as one aspect of Liao art. One relies chiefly on the investigation of scholars prior to World War II.[5] Preference is of course given to more recent accounts when available. The buildings have been grouped by locality and listed in a tentative chronology. The pagodas not embellished by sculpture, as those in the Hopei province, have been omitted. When pagodas are very similar in structure and decoration only one is chosen to represent the type.

The Northern and Southern Pagodas at the Superior Capital are perhaps the earliest Liao structures, namely built in the first half of the tenth century. The Northern Pagoda was not decorated with sculpture. The octagonal Southern Pagoda, instead, was adorned on each face with a group of deities of Tantric type (Plate 1). At the time of Torii's survey, several of them were no longer extant. The main image is represented at the center of the panel; it is surrounded by attendants of smaller size which are placed in the four directions. The images may have been carved in stone, while the crude carvings of the *apsarases*, those of the clouds which frame each panel, and of the baldaquins over the images were moulded in clay. The detail (Plate 2) shows Pao-sheng Buddha [13], Ratnasambhava, seated on a lotus throne supported by horses which project forward. It is astonishing how the deity's modeling displays already the salient features of Liao style, for instance, the tall crown surmounting a wide, round face with a prominent *urna*, the body rendered with an unnaturally elongated torso. Because the medium is stone and the style so assured, these images are perhaps later substitution of the eleventh century.

The Great Pagoda of the Middle Capital was likely built after 1007, the year in which Ta-ting was raised to the status of capital. It is one of the largest and tallest of the Liao buildings. Each face of the shaft was adorned with triads of seated Buddhas attended on either side by Bodhisattvas or by heavenly guardians (Plate 3). The images seem heavily restored, but in keeping with the style prevalent at mid-eleventh century. With round, open faces, the Bodhisattvas stand erect clad in flowing garments. These are rendered with fine pleats arranged close to each other. Strands of beads with large medallions criss-cross their bodies.

In the Middle Capital, in addition, there was a Small Pagoda probably contemporary with the preceding. The decoration of the eight faces consists of pairs of Bodhisattvas depicted standing (Plate 4). Modeled in brick, the figures display a marked verticality well suited to the narrow and tall panels. The most striking decorative element are the squatting lions, bizarre creatures which emerge from each side of the pagoda, below the shaft.

In the centers of I-hsien [14], Chao-yang [15], Chin-hsien [16], and Pei-chen [17], all situated in present day Liaoning, the Liao sponsored several imposing buildings.

The Pagoda of the Chi-fu Temple [18], at I-hsien, is ascribed to the early eleventh century on account of its resemblance to the decoration of the aforementioned Small Pagoda of the Middle Capital.[6] It is likewise embellished with stout, squatting lions. The panels display triads of Buddha and Bodhisattvas.

Chao-yang and its surroundings boasted at least four pagodas which can be dated to mid-eleventh century, after 1042, when the towns administrative status was raised. The earliest among them is probably the Northern Pagoda whose squarish shape drastically departs from the traditional polygonal form (Plate 5). Each one of the very spacious sides supports brick sculptures representing four Tantric Buddhas seated on their respective conveyances. They are attended by Bodhisattvas depicted in the unusual pose of kneeling and offering trays of fruits [?]. Each group, furthermore, is framed at the sides by two tall *stupas*. The Esoteric Buddhas of the four directions are here represented with the eight great *stupas* of Mahayana tradition. The images' modeling is very flat. The proportions of the Buddha's body emphasize the torso which towers over the folded legs.

The divine presence is stressed by a huge mandorla which completely contains the image. The elaborate jeweled crown executed in filigree-like design is unusual as are the minute details which characterize the *apsarases'* flowing garments.

The Great Pagoda of Feng-huang-shan [19], at Chao-yang, also squarish, displays a scheme of decoration very similar to that of the previous pagoda. Since the panels are narrower, the arrangement of the figures is more compressed and the Bodhisattvas are shown standing instead of kneeling (Plate 6). The figures' modeling is also more three-dimensional, their appearance softened and more natural. The postures and costumes are nor innovative, but executed with a higher degree of skill.

The last pagoda to be mentioned at Chao-yang is the Wu-chia-tzu [20]. Its decorative scheme reverts to the triad arrangement (Plate 7). The exhuberance of forms is once more noticeable, not only in the rendering of the figure, but in the execution of the lotus leaves of the throne and of those which in triple rows decorate the ledge of the pagoda.

This stylistic formula, which prevailed at Chao-yang in mid-eleventh century, was adopted also in other centers of Liaoning. It decorates, for instance, the pagoda of the Huang-ch'i Temple [21], at Chin-hsien[7] and the White Pagoda, at Liao-yang, the East Capital (Plate 8). The same decor embellishes a *dharani*pillar retrieved near the tomb of Emperor Shen-tsung [22] (983-1030), at Mount War-manha, near the Superior Capital[9] (Plate 9).

The East and West Pagodas of the Ch'ung-hsing Temple [23], at Pei-chen, are ascribed approximately to 1060. In both structures, each face is occupied by a triad, Buddha is seated in a niche attended by a Bodhisattva on each side. The images of the East Pagoda are stylistically very original (Plate 10). They are portrayed quite upright and modeled in such a way that the width of the body gradually narrows from the waist down. This new approach will be particularly favored toward the end of the century. The Bodhisattvas' costume displays an added decorative detail, ribbons which hang from the crown, descend to the shoulders and contour the upper body ending abruptly in mid-air. The images' faces under the crown are very round and benign.

Among the last pagodas to be built during the Liao dynasty, at the end of the eleventh, beginning of the twelfth century, is the Pagoda of the T'ien-ning Temple [24], in Peking, the Liao Southern Capital. The decoration of its shaft consisted of Bodhisattva images alternating with those of heavenly guardians (Plate 11). A comparison with a recent photo (Plate 12) which shows another face of the pagoda, tells about the damage suffered by the monument in the last fifty years. The loosening of the clay has revealed the wooden armature which supported the sculpture. The Bodhisattvas which decorated the T'ien-ning Pagoda wear the costume differently. It hugs the figure more tightly and forms several diagonal pleats across the body. The simplification of the costume enhances the rigid columnarity of the figure which gradually diminishes in width from the waist down. This body proportions, this fashion of the garment supersede in the late eleventh century the earlier, stouter figures and the different decorations of double-looped scarves and criss-crossing jewelry. Such innovations are also visible in the standing Buddha images which singly decorate the Pagoda of the Huang-hua Hall [25], at Chao-yang which is ascribed to the early twelfth century (Plate 13).

The brief survey of sculpture adorning the brick pagodas, although it relies on obsolete photographic material, has revealed the chief traits of Liao style. Namely, the round and wide faces surmounted by very tall crowns, the disproportionate elongation of the torso which imparts to the figures a stiff and columnar effect. Variations in costume and decoration have also become apparent with the progression of time. This stylistic evidence will now be studied in reference to the clay sculpture which adorns dated and still extant Liao timber buildings.

Clay Sculpture Adorning Timber Building

The Sutra Repository Hall of the Lower Hua-yen Temple, Ta-t'ung, Shansi

It is greatly fortunate that a securely dated hall survives in Ta-t'ung, once the Liao Western Capital, and that it is still adorned with its original sculpture[9]. These images are basic to the understanding of Liao style. The Pao-chia-ts'ang t'ien [26], or Sutra Repository Hall, was completed in 1038, according to an inscription written on one of the beams supporting the ceiling. The hall is the main building of the Hsia Hua-yen Temple [27][10].

The importance of the Lower Hua-yen Temple is stressed by the fact that it was entrusted with the Liao Tripitaka and, in 1062, with the effigies, in stone and bronze, of the former Liao emperors and their consorts. (To this occurrence we shall return later.) Thus, because of the imperial favor which the temple enjoyed, it may be inferred that its sculpture likely reflects the imperial patronage and certainly displays a high level of craftmanship.

The Sutra Repository Hall is a very spacious building (25.6 m. long and 18.41 m. deep). Its interior is divided in two sections: the rear is occupied by the aerial construction of the wooden cupboards which once treasured the sacred texts; the front is taken over, almost totally, by a brick platform-altar on which a great gathering of Buddhist deities is displayed (Plate 14). There are twenty-nine sculptures of varying sizes. They were modeled in clay, perhaps supported by a wooden armature. They are lacquered, gilded, and painted. Inspite of restorations, they maintain to a large degree their original appearance. The sculptures form three distinct groups, each one presided by a monumental Buddha (5 m. high), portrayed seated. The Buddhas are attended by Bodhisattvas, seated or standing, and monks (all. 3.50 m. high). Smaller adoring figures (0.75 m. high) are represented kneeling on lotuses. The secondary Buddhas placed in front of the main images in the lateral groups are later additions. At each end of the altar is placed a heavenly guardian (3.50 m.). Tokiwa and Sekino identified the three Buddhas as Shih-chia-mou-ni [28], Śakyamuni, in the center, Yao-shih [29], Bhaisajyaguru and O-mi-t'o [30], Amitabha at the sides. The recent Chinese survey calls them the "Buddhas of the Triple World" (Past, Present, and Future) basing its identification on the inscription of the stele dated Chin 1162 which is still extant in the hall.[11] Those Buddhas, thus, represent Shih-chia-mou-ni in the center, Ting-kuang [31], Dipamkara and Mi-lo [32], Maitreya, at his sides.

The sheer size of the sculptures and their number are indeed overwhelming, but it is their facial expressions, their elegant bearing which impress the visitor most. The Bodhisattvas' faces are particularly striking (Plate 15). Each is shaped as a perfect oval with wide cheek-bones, eyebrows very elongated and not too arched, eyes not slanted, the bridge of the nose pronounced and straight, the mouth small but not poutish. The expression of the face is devoid of sensuality, serene and intelligent. Most of the faces are marked by the *urna* between the eyes. The heads are carried high and slightly tilted; the images' gazes meet unabashedly those of the onlooker.

The features of the Buddhist images may actually represent Khitan facial traits. The hypothesis appears supported by the death masks found in Liao burials.[12] The Khitans used to embalm the dead body and to cover the face with a mask which attempted to portray the likeness of the deceased. The masks, therefore, are the closest document we have of how the Khitans may have looked. Executed in bronze gilt with silver or gold, the masks are round with horizontally placed eyes shaded by even eyebrows, pronounced noses and a small mouth. They are not dissimilar from the facial traits of the Buddhist images.

The body proportions and the poses of the sculptures convey elegance and dignity. The torso is very elongated, the hips slender so that when the image is represented standing, it soars unimpeded from feet to head with a sweeping thrust (Plate 16). When the image is represented seated, the narrow torso stretches upward from the base formed by the folded legs (Plate 17). The limbs are tubular and gracefully extended; the arms are characterized by very long hands. The feet of the standing images protrude from underneath the drapery, while the right foot of seated images usually is represented half-concealed by the pleated hem of the robe. All those are common conventions in Liao sculpture.

The images wear two types of headgears, crowns and tiaras (Figures 1, 2). The first have scalloped contours and are higher in front. Their surface is embellished with meandering floral motifs, rosettes and medallions. The tiaras are less massive. They are formed by a central, taller section, and two lateral, shorter sections. Their shape seems inspired by the design of delicate fern tendrils, either joined to form a cluster or separated to form sinuous curves. Tiaras are often embellished with cloud motifs which are also used to decorate the images' costumes. The standing Bodhisattva belonging to the central group wears an exceptional headgear which displays a see-through, embroidery-like workmanship (Plate 18). In many examples, ribbons are attached to crowns and tiaras alike. They fall down to the shoulders, form a knot, and further descend hugging the upper arms. Crowns and tiaras rest on the hair neatly divided in flat clumps. Sometimes strands of hair form a loop over the ears and drop to the shoulders where they divide into meandering rivulets. The Bodhisattvas are fully carved in the round, thus, in the back, the hair is parted in the middle and then braided (Plate 19). Sometimes the hair is styled to form an elegant chignon. The relationship of headgear and hairdo is governed by an unusual degree of realistic observation.

The Bodhisattvas' costume consists either of an elaborate set of garments which cover the entire body or of a simpler attire which leaves the body partially bare. The first type of costume is worn especially by the imposing Bodhisattvas represented seated (Plate 17). The sequence of garments forming their outfit may be thus described: a long-sleeved, plain chemise on which is worn a *dhoti*, or skirt, tied at the hips, and a short tunic tightly tied below the breasts and adorned with a scroll pattern. The tunic has a very large, scalloped collar and ruffled sleeves. A wide shawl wraps the figure's shoulders; its ends rest softly on the lap. The necklaces are relatively simple. They consist of rosettes and diamonds attached to strands of beads; pendents are also used. The armlets are generally bands of rosettes.

Several of the standing Bodhisattvas are clad in the simpler costume (Plate 18). Their lower body is completely covered by the *dhoti* kept in place by a wide sash which hugs the hips and forms a rich knot in front. The torso is crossed in front and back by a loosely draped scarf which is tied below the left shoulder. A very long and narrow stole is thrown around the arms and hangs all the way to the ground. Sometimes the stole is also fashioned to form one or two decorative loops. As in the case of the Bodhisattvas' headgears, the costumes display a rich inventiveness and diversity. The craftsmen tried to individualize each image by slightly varying the facial expressions, hand-gestures, postures, and attires. Above all, they aimed to achieve an effect of naturalness.

The three imposing Buddhas in the Sutra Repository Hall are very similarly depicted (Plate 14). Their facial traits are the same as the Bodhisattvas'. The hair is fashioned with row upon row of snail-curls; the *usnisa*, or cranial protuberance, is very marked and at its base a bald spot is also indicated. The ears are unnaturally long and end with perforated, thick lobes. The Buddhas wear the *dhoti* tightly tucked below the folded legs; the inner garment is draped so as to leave most of the chest exposed, while the outer robe covers both shoulders and forms many supple folds.

The thrones on which the images are seated, the flamboyant mandorlas which encompass the Buddhas, and the large-scale haloes crowning some of the Bodhisattvas deserve attention, since they display very innovative traits. The thrones derive from the T'ang Sumeru type and are articulated in three parts--a wide pedestal, a narrower intermediate zone, and an upper section. In Liao sculpture, the throne's upper section is more elaborately built than the others with several layers of lotus leaves, luscious and thick which project from the core. The intermediate section is characterized by cabriole legs connecting upper to lower section. In some instance, animals also come forward from the middle part. (A similar device was already noticed in the thrones of the images decorating the pagodas.)

The enormous aureoles which adorn the Buddhas and some of the seated Bodhisattvas are painted with motifs of stylized clouds and flickering flames. The haloes placed behind some of the other images are similarly decorated. Aureoles and haloes are distinctively Liao creations. The triad carved in Cave III at Yün-kang is also displaying haloes like those described.[13] The hairdo and facial expression of the images, furthermore, are fashioned according to the formula set in the Sutra Repository at Ta-t'ung. The latter represents a mature and well-balanced version of Liao style. The examples introduced next show how this formula evolved after 1038 and what kind of statuary preceded it.

The Shih-chia-mou-ni Pagoda at Ying-hsien, Shansi

The timber Shih-chia-mou-ni Pagoda was built in 1056.[14] It is part of the Fo-kung Temple [33], at Ying-hsien [34], Shansi which was rebuilt in 1143 during the Chin dynasty. The pagoda is a five-storied, octagonal structure. On each of its floors are displayed monumental clay figures, arranged singly or in a group. On the first floor there is a seated Shih-chia-mou-ni (11.50 m. high) surrounded by six painted images of Buddha. On the second, a pentad formed by Buddha, two seated Bodhisattvas and their respective attendants. On the third, four Buddhas facing the four directions. On the fourth, Buddha attended by two monks, the Bodhisattva Wen-shu [35], Mañjuśri, and P'u-hsien [36], Samantabhadra, on their vehicles and with their grooms. On the fifth floor, Pi-lo-she-na [37], Vairocana, presides over eight Bodhisattvas portrayed seated, four placed in the four directions and four on the axis reflecting the mandala's formation.

The style of these sculptures is strongly related to that of Ta-t'ung. This is evident by comparing a Bodhisattva on the fifth floor (Plate 20) and the Pao-sheng Buddha on the third floor (Plate 21) with their respective counterparts in the Sutra Repository Hall. The Ying-hsien sculpture shows an increased elaboration and a dehumanization of the image. The Buddha, in particular, displays lineariѕtic tendencies which seem to derive from a painted model. The robe's folds, for instance, are no longer reflecting adaptation of the drapes to the body, but assume a life of their own motivated by decorative effects. This is especially evident in the use of an arched and hooked stroke drawn on the section of the robe which is caught in the petal of the throne. In bronze images, this peculiarity will be constantly displayed. That the source is indeed a painting is confirmed by the Buddha image represented on the first floor of the pagoda (Plate 22). The painting exhibits a similarly extravagant rendering of pleats and a penchant toward calligraphic embellishments; realistic observations are now solely confined to the depiction of the exquisitely elegant hands.

This correspondence between painting and sculpture is once more confirmed by a recent finding at the same Shih-chia-mou-ni Pagoda. In 1974, several *sutras*, printed and hand-copied, some in their entirety, others fragmentary, were discovered inside the clay Buddha on the fourth floor of the pagoda.[15] They were dated between 983 and 1064. Among those scriptures is a section of the *Ta-fa chü t'o-lo-ni ching* [38], namely chapter thirteen with an illustrated frontispiece. It depicts Buddha Vairocana preaching to a large assembly. The Buddha image embodies all the stylistic traits described including the calligraphic strokes.

In summary, the clay sculptures at Ying-hsien follow in the Ta-t'ung tradition, but also evolve toward a more linear and decorative rendering of the image.

The Ta-hsiung Hall of the Feng-kuo Temple at I-hsien, Liaoning

Another monumental timber hall, the Ta-hsiung Hall [39] of the Feng-kuo Temple [40], was built during the Liao dynasty, in 1020, at I-hsien, Liao-ning.[16] Seven colossal Buddhas, the six Buddhas of the Past and Shih-chia-mou-ni, (the tallest is 9.50 m. high), are displayed on the altar (Plate 23). Their great size is further emphasized by the huge aureoles towering above them. The pair of Bodhisattvas attending each Buddha, although over life-size (2.50 m. high), are mere dwarfs in comparison with the main images. Two heavenly guardians are displayed at each end of the altar (3.50 m. high).

In this temple, as at Ta-t'ung and at Ying-hsien, the disproportion between the Buddhas and their attendants is stressed to the limit. Because of their colossal size, perhaps, the modeling of the sculptures seems rather superficial. The Liao characteristics are, however, recognizable, such as the full and round faces, the unnaturally elongated body standing very erect, the mundane elegance of the costume and its accessories. The Bodhisattvas are clad rather simply. Some are dressed with a *dhoti* which folds over the waist to form an apron effect; the skirt is hooked by jewelry below the knees. A tunic with a large scalloped collar completes this attire (Plate 24). Other Bodhisattvas wear, instead, over the tunic a toga-like stole (Plate 25). The headgears resemble coronets embellished with wire loops in the back and ribbons at the sides. The images stand on two separate lotuses, a device inherited from T'ang. The thrones supporting the Buddhas are elaborate and grand.

These sculptures executed almost twenty years earlier than those in the Sutra Repository Hall at Ta-t'ung embody an early, formative stage of Liao style. They have gone beyond the T'ang model, but have not yet achieved a full stylistic synthesis. It is important to note that they were fashioned outside of China proper, thus they are even more valuable because they begin to show the Khitan distinctive approach to Buddhist statuary.

The Kuan-yin Pavilion of the Tu-lo Temple at Chi-hsien, Hopei

The Kuan-yin Pavilion [41], at the Tu-lo Temple [42], at Chi-hsien [43], is dated to 984, the earliest among the Liao buildings.[17] The temple was very modest in size, its most important building being the two-storied pavilion. A colossal clay statue of Kuan-yin, Avalokiteśvara, was placed in it and was attended by two other images which Tokiwa and Sekino identified as T'i-shih-t'ien [44], Indra, and Fan-t'ien [45], Brahma. The so-called Indra was 3.50 m. high (Plate 26), but diminutive in comparison to the main image which is taller than two stories.

In studying the formation of Liao style, it is profitable to compare this sculpture with that of the standing Bodhisattva (Plate 18) in the Sutra Repository Hall at Ta-t'ung. The link between the two images is apparent in the posture, in some details of the hairdo, in the ribbons attached to the crown, in the arrangement of the *dhoti's* folds. The discrepancies, on the other hand, are also recognizable. For instance, although both sculptures are represented in the hip-thrust pose, the Ta-t'ung version is more contained and static. The different hand-gestures, likewise, espress stillness as opposed to movement. The later sculpture is portrayed with the hands joined in prayer, the earlier with open arms (although the right arm is missing). The effect of dynamism is still a link with the T'ang style. The facial traits of the images are not different, but in the later example are set in a rounder and more naturalistic face. The peculiarity of the face is one of the stylistic elements which completely separates Liao sculpture from their T'ang predecessors. The image in the Kuan-yin Pavilion is still heavily influenced by it.

The Source of Liao Sculpture: the Fo-kuang Temple at Wu-t'ai-shan, Shansi

The tenth century was not one of great artistic achivements in the field of sculpture, at least in the area north of the Yellow River. It was a turbulent time.

The multi-state subdivision of the land must have generated a milieu of great instability not suited to the fostering of artistic creativity. In fact, the few works dated or attributed to the Five Dynasties period are but epigones of the T'ang style and not innovations. [18] At that time, the Wu-t'ai-shan was a very active center continuing a tradition established in the T'ang period.

The Wu-t'ai shan is reknown for its many monasteries built around five peaks. The tutelary deity of the place is the Bodhisattva Wen-shu reputed to have appeared there several times to monks and pilgrims. The center was already active during the Northern Wei dynasty, but its importance grew especially during the T'ang. In mid-eigth century, it emerged from the Buddhist persecution as a leading center setting the directions for the cult and its art, while Ch'ang-an was so badly weakened that it never regained its importance. The monasteries set in the midst of the five peaks became the residence of eminent monks who expounded different doctrines, such as Hua-yen, Amidism, and Tantrism.[19] From the second half of the eighth, throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, the Wu-t'ai-shan was like a beacon of light in the midst of division and struggle. As one of China sacred peaks, during the Five Dynasties it was such a popular pilgrimage destination that it was painted with cartographic accuracy on the walls of Cave 62, at Tun-huang.[20]

During the 845 Buddhist persecution, the Wu-t'ai-shan monasteries suffered damage, but their religious activity and reconstruction began soon after. The Fo-kuang Temple [48], the likely source of inspiration for the Liao sculpture, may have been rebuilt under the monk Yüan-ch'eng [49], (d.887). According to the inscription on the sutra pillar placed in front of the main hall, the temple was rebuilt in 857.[21]

The most striking resemblance between the Sutra Repository Hall, at Ta-t'ung and the Hall of the Fo-kuang Temple is the arrangement of the monumental clay images. Upon entering the hall, one beholds, as in Ta-t'ung, about thirty sculptures, painted and gilded, assembled on the altar in three distinct groups (Plate 27). The central group is presided by Shih-chia-mou-ni attended by two monks and two Bodhisattvas, the one at his right by O-mi-t'o with four Bodhisattvas, the group at his left by Mi-lo with four Bodhisattvas. Offerers are represented kneeling on lotuses and are placed in front of the three groups. Two additional configurations are displayed at each end of the altar, Wen-shu (Plate 28) and P'u-hsien on their respective vehicles with their retinue. This great assembly is also guarded by two heavenly kings.[22]

Costume details such as the rich folds of the *dhoti*, the elegant extravagance of stoles and scarves forming double loops undoubtedly inspired the Liao masters. The exotic capes with the wide, scalloped collars and the fancy ruffled-sleeves worn by the Liao images make one of their first appearances in the costume of Wen-shu in the Hall of the Fo-kuang Temple. The elaborate Liao thrones with cabriole legs have; indeed, a forerunner in O-mi-t'o's throne in the same hall (Plate 28). And last, the Liao type of Buddha may have been influenced by the painting which decorates the same hall (Plate 29). The peculiarity of the bald spot placed below the *usnisa*, always present in Liao images, is already depicted in this T'ang Buddha.[23]

Those are the points of contact between Liao sculptures, especially those at Ta-t'ung, and the Wu-t'ai-shan images. One production, unmistakably, evolves from the other. The Liao reinterpreted those models and transformed them into independent creations. They endowed them with unique facial expressions and body proportions, adorned them with original garments and most innovative headgears. The Liao images were fashioned to satisfy the aesthetic and religious needs of the Khitans.

Independent Stone Sculpture

The brick and clay sculpture so far investigated have made us acquainted with the salient traits of Liao style. Relying on them, one is able to ascribe to the Liao period the following stone and bronze sculptures, which are otherwise not dated.

The Bodhisattva torso in the Chicago Art Institute (approximately 0.50 m. high) is a very refined sculpture carved in white marble (Plates 30 A, 30 B).[24] It is represented wearing the same costume as that worn by the Bodhisattvas in the Sutra Repository Hall at Ta-t'ung (Plate 17). One recognizes the long-sleeved undergarment covered by a *dhoti* which is tied with a sash, the short tunic with the wide scalloped collar and the ruffled sleeves. The back of the statue, consistently and clearly, shows the depiction of the same attire. There is still one more point of contact, namely the clay sculpture displays a rosette jewel placed on the abdomen. Its presence there can be explained as part of the criss-crossing strands of jewelry, now missing, which were worn in the same manner as the marble image does. This kind of jewelry was previously noticed adorning the sculptures of the pagodas built about the mid-eleventh century.

Torii found a fragment of a standing stone Bodhisattva among the ruins of the Superior Capital displaying the identical jewelry (Plate 31). In 1959 and 1960, furthermore, importante Liao remains were excavated at Ta-ming-ch'eng, the former Middle Capital.[26] Among the ruins of a Buddhist temple located outside the city's perimeter there was the fragment of a stone Bodhisattva (Plate 32), (its size is not given in the report). It is a sculpture very similar in pose, costume, and adornments to the previous image in the Chicago Art Institute.

The seated Kuan-yin (approximately 0.70 m. high) in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., belongs also to this group (Plates 33 A, 33 B). It is executed less flamboyantly than its counterpart in marble, but it has the advantage of being intact. It is carved in hard white stone, a sub-product of marble. A short inscription with the donor's name is written on the pedestal. The round and wide face with the prominent *urna* between the eyes, the tall crown with the hanging ribbons and the arrangement of the hair in the front and back are all fashioned on the Ta-t'ung models. The costume is not as carefully differentiated in its component parts and the modeling of the body is cursory. The strands of jewelry, however, criss-crossing the body and draped over the lotus seat are meticulously represented. Three lions of the type which decorates Liao pagodas and *dharani* pillars emerge from the throne. The execution of all those stone images is ascribed to the first part of the eleventh century.

Gilt Bronze Sculpture

Buddha Images

Among Liao sculptures, the bronze images are the most accomplished and reflect a mature version of the formula established at Tat'ung. The Buddha in the Nelson-Atkins Gallery, Kansas City (26 cm. high), (Plate 34) is depicted seated with interlocked legs, the right foot exposing its sole. It represents, perhaps, the Buddha O-mi-t'o, since it performs the *dhyana,* or contemplation, gesture commonly associated with the deity. The sculpture is closely related to the mid-eleventh century type, as seen in the painted and clay images of the Shih-chia-mou-ni Pagoda, at Ying-hsien. The chief characteristics are once more summarized. The wide and ovaloid face with a conspicuous *urna,* the bald spot placed below the *usnisa,* horizontally indicated eyes and eyebrows, pronounced nose, and well-delineated mouth. The ears are very long terminating in thick lobes. The costume is simple, that is a *dhoti* tied at the waist over a camisole which leaves the chest bare, and a stole draped over both shoulders. The resemblance to the painted Buddha at Ying-hsien (Plate 22) is very striking. The calligraphic strokes, an arched and hooked line, are also carved on the portion of the robe which covers the arms and the legs. Since those strokes are present in all the bronzes investigated, aside from being a peculiarity of Liao art, they may represent the mark of a special workshop. The detail of the bare foot partly hidden by the fringed robe is present both in the painting and in the sculpture. The elaborate lotus throne displays the cabriole legs with rosette adornments, a feature with which one is familiar.

The Buddha exhibited in the Palace Museum, Peking, (no dimension available), (Plate 35), is very similar to the previous one, except for the hand-gesture. Its left hand may be a substitution.

Bodhisattva images

All the following examples portray different types of Bodhisattvas. The seated Bodhisattva in the collection of the British Museum (20.2 cm. high), (Plate 36), represents likely a Kuan-yin since it holds a *kundika,* or water bottle, in the left hand, and carries a *stupa* in the headgear (the *stupa* being a symbol of Buddha). Facial traits, body proportions, and the sitting pose are all familiar. The headgear is a variation of the tiara; each of its side is embellished with stylized plant (or cloud?) motif which is often encountered in bronze sculpture. The ribbons attached to the tiara, behind the ears, fall over the shoulders, are loosely knotted, and contour the figure down to the waistline. The same detail was noticed in the brick sculpture of the Pagoda at Pei-chen ca. 1060. The calligraphic embellishments are visible on the legs.

The seated Bodhisattva in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam is rather small (11.11 cm. high), (Plate 37), but it is executed with a lavish care for details.[27] The pedestal is missing. The image is portrayed seated in locked lotus posture. The fluidity of the line depicting the soft folds of the garment and the elegant undulation of the ribbons descending from the tall headdress and gently hugging the image's body reveal a high level of sensitivity and craftmanship. The headdress is a three-part volute supported by a very tall chignon. Rosettes embellish this extravagant construction; the same ornaments adorn the earlobes and form the necklace. This Bodhisattva holds a *cintamani,* or wish-granting jewel, an attribute often associated with Kuan-yin.

The two examples which are presented next relate to a type of image which became popular at the end of the T'ang period and reached its zenith during the Sung. The Liao attribution is strongly supported by the images' physical qualities and by what they wear, the crown in particular. Both sculptures are representations of Kuan-yin. The Bodhisattva in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (11.13 cm. high), (Plate 38), holds a *cintamani* in the left hand, while the right is depicted with the palm out and two fingers bent. The image is represented seated with the right leg folded over the throne, the left pendent. This posture is usually associated with the Bodhisattva Wen-shu seated on a lion. Its earliest appearance is at T'ien-lung-shan [50], for instance the Bodhisattvas in Cave XIV; the relaxed sensuality of the T'ang Bodhisattva is replaced by the vigorous alertness of the Liao deity. The headgear is the tall crown-type embellished with the stylized motif of a plant and adorned with long ribbons. The depiction of the folds, the hooked and arched stroke placed over the Bodhisattva's right leg are conventions of the Liao style.

The seated Kuan-yin in the Palace Museum, Peking (no measurement available), (Plate 39), is the only known example portraying the image in this pose of relaxation, the most popular during the Sung and Chin period. The inner vigor expressed by the alert face counterbalances the relaxed posture; the taughtness of the flesh underlines the energy rather than the sensuality of the image. Were there any doubts as to the Liao attribution, the type of crown worn and the calligraphic marks on the image's left leg dispel them.

The Pu-k'ung chuan-so [51], (Amoghapaśa), Kuan-yin, a Tantric aspect of this deity is in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (20.9 cm. high), (Plate 40). Kuan-yin is depicted seated in the full lotus pose and with twenty-four arms, the primary ones joined in the gesture of prayer. Nineteen of the others hold ritual implements such as a rosary, two jars differently fashioned, a bell, a lassoo, two seals, one bearing the characters *ta-chi* [52] (great auspiciousness), a willow branch, two lotuses, a bell, a *vajra*, two lotus buds, the sun and moon.[28] The construction of the image shows an elongated and narrow torso rising perfectly vertical from the base of the interlocked legs. The proportions are very alike those applied to the stone sculptures previously examined. The similarity extends also to the jewelry which is of the type criss-crossing the body. Face and crown maintain the Liao requisites, but the circular *urna* is substituted with a diamond-shaped mark.

The youthful Wen-shu with five tufts of hair (approximately 15.50 cm. high), in The Metropolitan Museum, New York (Plate 41), is an uncommon representation of this deity and a rare Chinese version. The Bodhisattva is represented seated in full lotus pose with the sole of the right foot exposed, a pose which encountered much favor in Liao art. The hands held attributes now lost, perhaps a sword and a book. The image may represent Wen-shu in his Vajratiksna or Sthiracakra aspects.[29] It is clad in a tight-fitting *dhoti* and a scarf which crosses the torso diagonally. Armlets and wrist jewelry are studded with rosettes and decorated with pendents, The facial features, the narrow and tall torso, the arched marks on the legs strongly support a Liao date.

The presentation of bronze images concludes with two examples of standing Kuan-yin. The Bodhisattva in the collection of the Chicago Art Institute (34.3 cm. high), (Plate 42), displays several Liao traits, such as the wide and open face framed by very long ears and crowned by a tall headgear. The latter is very similar to that worn by the seated Kuan-yin in the Palace Museum, Peking. The image's body is tightly wrapped in the robe which forms many diagonal draperies in the front. This fashion was noted on the sculptures decorating the pagodas built at the end of the eleventh century. When seen frontally, the sculpture is narrower at the base than at shoulder level; it opens up like a flower on its stem.

This Bodhisattva type is supported by archaeological evidence. In 1962, while excavating the ancient city of Wu-la [55], near Ji-lin (Kirin), a small bronze (10 cm. high with the pedestal) was found.[30] In stance and costume, the image is very similar to the Bodhisattva in the Chicago Art Institute.

The Kuan-yin in The University Museum, Philadelphia is one of the noblest expression of Liao art (Plates 43 A, B, C). It is also the tallest bronze image (65 cm. high). Unfortunately, the gilt surface is very corroded with the exception of the face, neck, and parts of the hands.[31] Fully carved in the round, the Bodhisattva stands monumentally erect and holds a lotus bud in the left hand; the right is raised in front of the chest with the thumb and middle finger touching. The original pedestal is lost. Compared to the previous Kuan-yin, a few variations are evident. The taller crown is partly covered by the mantle which envelops the figure; it has no ribbons. Elegant loops of hair cover the ears. The necklace is unusually large; it consists of rosettes held together by strands of pearls. The crown is lavished with details, such as the miniature Buddha set against a flaming halo in the center of the crown, the swirling scrolls carved on the surface, and the three-dimensional rosettes and stylized motifs. One especially admires the columnar thrust of the image which is undisturbed by gestures or unnecessary accessories. The image recalls the brick sculptures adorning the T'ien-ning Pagoda in Peking. The type of image represented by the Kuan-yin likely developed toward the end of the Liao period, ca. 1100. The hypothesis is supported by the images carved on a *dharani* pillar, dated 1120, placed near the Southern Pagoda of the Yün-chü Temple [53], at Fang-shan [54], Hopei. The monks carved on the pillar are represented tightly wrapped in their robe with the hand joined in prayer.[32]

The investigation of Liao images has made us acquainted with their characteristic attire. Among the various components of the Liao costume, the crowns, undoubtedly, can be singled out as the most original. They are not comparable to any headdress worn by Buddhist deities during the T'ang and Five Dynasties period. As true Liao creations, their source will be investigated next.

Khitan Headgears

The Liao Buddhist crowns derive their shape and part of their decor from the Khitan secular headgear. There are three extant secular crowns made of gilt silver with a repoussé design. One belongs to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the other two were excavated in Liaoning, in 1956 and 1972, at Chiang-chia-ying-tzu, Ch'ien-p'ing [56], and at Ch'ien-ch'uang-hu [57], respectively.[33] Their height is approximately 20 cm. The crown in the Boston museum and the one from Chiang-chia-ying-tzu (Plates 44 A, B) are decorated with a pair of dragons facing a flaming jewel. Stylized clouds and plant motifs are the other elements of the unusual decor. The third crown displays a pair of phoenixes in the same setting (Plate 45).

On account of their refined craftmanship, the crowns have been ascribed to the Sung. They were fashioned to suit the Khitans' taste and sent north as diplomatic gifts. In support of this interpretation, a passage from the *Liao*

History is quoted which lists the gifts of the Sung Emperor to the Liao ambassador in 1005.[34] Supposing that such headgears corresponded to one of the crowns found in Liao burials, it is to be asked whether the saddles, the embroideries, and the belts which also display the same decor of dragons and phoenixes, were also Sung products. They were not, since the *Liao History* records the Liao gifts to the Sung emperor in 1005. They consisted of belts ornaments with gold and silver dragons, saddles decorated with gold and silver dragons and phoenixes, and a set of imperial ornaments embroidered with clouds and dragons.[35] It seems conclusive that the decor was, indeed, Liao not Sung.

The motifs which adorn the crowns assemble different levels of symbolism. Dragons and phoenixes are traditional Chinese emblems representing the power invested in the emperor and his consort, the flaming jewel refers to the spiritual gifts bestowed by Buddhism, the stylized motifs of clouds and plants have, perhaps, a supernatural connotations. If the plant motif depicts the *ling-chih* [58], it is an allusion to Shamanistic practices.[36] The border motif of the crown from Chiang-chia-ying-tzu (Plate 44) strongly suggests the shape of the mushroom. Shamanism was the traditional religion of the Khitans. The *Liao History* mentions Shamanistic practices. They took place, for instance, on the occasion of the emperor's funeral, on New Year's day, in the cerimony of invoking rain or to be cured from illness.[37] The ritual, however, is not described; the implements are not mentioned. It can be inferred that the emblems used in the crown referred to the most powerful influences in Liao society, the emperor's authority and the spiritual forces of Buddhism and Shamanism.

We do not know for certain who the wearers of the crowns were. They probably were the emperor himself and the highest officials in their capacity, perhaps, of shamans. According to *Liao History,* in 1062, stone and bronze images of the former Liao emperors and their consorts were placed in the Hua-yen Temple, at Ta-t'ung.[38] One of the bronze figures resembling an emperor is said to have been represented wearing a crown. Could it have been of the type described?

The double decor, dragons and phoenixes, was undoubtedly associated with objects belonging to the imperial family. In 1953, three tombs were excavated in the village of Ta-ying-tzu, Ch'ih-feng County [59], Inner Mongolia.[39] One of the three was the burial of the Prince of Wei [60], the son-in-law of the first Liao emperor, T'ai Tzu [61]. The tomb is dated to 959 by inscription. Among the burial objects were several saddles originally made with a sheet of gilt silver, adorned by a repoussé design, covering an inner core of wood. Their decor is exactly the same as that of the crowns. From the inscription, one knows that the burial objects were gift of the emperor to the deceased and his family.

The same decor was used to decorate tombs. It is painted above the back door of the inner chamber in the tomb of Emperor Hsing-tsung [62], (1031–54), at

War-manha, near the Superior Capital (Plate 46).[40] Paired dragons were also decorating the inner chamber of the tomb of a Khitan administrator which was discovered at Hsüan-hua [63], Hopei.[41] The tomb is dated to 1116, almost at the end of the dynasty. The survival of the motifs to such a late date confirms their importance in Liao rituals and beliefs. To conclude: the crowns must have been preeminent attributes; their symbolism may have represented a powerful link with the supernatural. It is not surprising, therefore, that a modified version of those headgears was used to adorn the Buddhist images.

The crowns worn by the Bodhisattvas in the Sutra Repository at Ta-t'ung (Fig. 1) borrow from the Khitan headgears the uncommon shape. Their decoration consists chiefly of floral meanderings, appliqué flowers, rosettes, and medallions. One exception is represented by the crown decorated with the two phoenixes (Plate 15). This decorative motif closely resembles a fragment of embroidery found in the tomb of a Khitan official excavated in 1974 at Yeh-mao-t'ai, Fa-ku [64], Liaoning.[42]

The crowns worn by the gilt bronze Bodhisattvas borrow from the Khitan headgears the stylized plant motif which I tentatively associated with the *ling-chih*. It is prominently displayed above the temples, at the base of the crown (Pls. 36, 38, 39, 42, 43c).

The Buddhist art sponsored by the Liao dynasty represents a sharp break with that of the T'ang period. The faces, bodies, and demeanor of Liao images were fashioned to satisfy the aesthetic idea of the Khitans. The costume and its ornaments are, likewise, innovative and incorporate, as in the case of the crowns, traditional Khitan beliefs. The Liao apparently established their stylistic formula by the early eleventh century and applied it with few variations to their entire production, regardless of the medium employed. Since the Liao consistently abided by a rather uniform style, one ought not to attribute to their production images which deviate from the characteristics which I have pointed out.

A Group of Sculptures in the Former Collection of General J.W.N. Munthe

In his article, Osvald Siren presented a group of marble images which belonged to the collection of General J.W.N. Munthe, in Peking.[43] Some of the sculptures are smaller than life-size, others much larger. According to Siren, they were executed during the twelfth century; the smaller sculptures, however, were carved two or three decades earlier, at the end of the Liao dynasty or at the start of the Chin.[44] All the sculptures, in Siren's opinion, stemmed from the same workshop which was located near Pao-ting [65] or Ting-chou [66], in Hopei province.

When I visited the Vestlandske Kunstindustrimuseum in Bergen, in the summer 1983, the smaller sculptures were exhibited, but the larger were still in crates and could not be examined. I feel confident, therefore, to discuss only the former. To the four sculptures in Bergen a fifth is added which is now in The University Museum, Philadelphia.

The sculptures form a homogeneous group. They are all carved out of white magnesian limestone which is called "marble" by the Chinese. The color of the stone is light grey and brown with traces of crystals. It is not pure white marble. The images adhere to a square block which was once attached to the surface of a building, a temple or a pagoda, and are represented standing on narrow ledges.[45] These sculptures, unfortunately, are mutilated and very damaged. They all share the same height, slightly less than one meter.

The sculptures represent a monk enraptured in contemplation (Plate 47), a guardian (Plate 48), an Eleven-headed Kuan-yin (Plate 49 A), the Bodhisattva Ti-tsang [67], Ksitigarbha, (Plate 50), who intercedes for the sinners with the kings of hell[46], and a noncharacterized Bodhisattva (Plate 51). In spite of their rather small size, the sculptures project a massive appearance. This effect is determined both by their facial expressions and by the shape of their bodies. The heads are pear-shaped with swelling jaws, narrow and low forehead, heavy eyelids over half-closed and slanted eyes, and a small and pouty mouth (Plate 49 B). The ears are short and realistically modeled. The body of these images is stout, not anatomically differentiated, with a thick-set chest; it is a heavy rather than elegant or graceful body (Plate 50).

The monk's attire is the simplest in the group. He wears a robe which wraps his body tightly; the ends of the robe are gathered and thrown over the left arm. The guardian is scantily clad with scarves and drapes which are scattered around by his violent motions. The Bodhisattva Ti-tsang is represented in a monastic garment. The other two Bodhisattvas are draped in flowing *dhotis* tied with sashes, in short capelets and scarves which form graceful, double loops in front of the figure. The sculptures share the same carving technique which is characterized by deeply cut incisions smoothed over at the edges.

The facial expressions, body proportions, costumes, and carving technique of these images, even at first sight, are radically different from those of the Liao sculptures. Even conceding the possibility of a provincial, archaistic style, it is hard to place these images within the mainstream of Liao art.

This group of sculptures, instead, should be compared to the images connected with the Wu-kou ch'ing-kuang Pagoda [68], of the Fo-kuang Temple, at the Wu-t'ai-shan, Shansi. They were executed during the T'ang dynasty and one is firmly dated to the mid-eighth century. The Wu-t'ai-shan images initiated a typology of Buddhist images which inspired the production of statuary especially in the Hopei region. In 1956, the Chinese Buddhist Association published an album of Buddha images *Shih-chia-mou-ni Fo-hsiang chi* [69] (Collection of Images of Buddha Śakyamuni). Among them is a white marble sculpture of the historical Buddha, dated by inscription to 752, which was originally carved for the Wu-kou ch'ing-kuang Pagoda (Plate 53). The image is approximately one meter high; the right hand is a substitution.

This sculpture had already been published in 1937 by Gemmyo Ono who visited the Wu-t'ai-shan in the fall 1924.[47] At that time the sculpture was placed in the Wen-shu Hall of the Fo-kuang Temple. Ono transcribed the entire inscription which reads:

> On the fifteenth day, of the eleventh month, of the eleventh year of the T'ien-pao era (752) of the great T'ang, the village of Hsi-tzu-chuan (?), in Hsing-i County, Po-ling Prefecture, for the sake of the realm, respectfully sponsored the making of a marble image of Shih-chia-mou-ni Buddha, the supernatural king, [to be placed] in the Wu-kou ch'ing-kuang Pagoda of the Fo-kuang Temple, at Wu-t'ai-shan ... [70].[48]

In 1950, five marble sculptures, the monks A-nan [71], Ananda, and Ch'ieh-yeh [72], Kaśyapa, a Bodhisattva, and two heavenly guardians were unearthed at the former site of the Wu-kou ch'ing-kuang.[49] The five sculptures are carved out of marble and reach the approximate height of one meter.

The Wu-t'ai-shan Shih-chia-nou-ni sits with legs interlocked. They form a solid base for the rather short, corpulent chest. The thick-set head further emphasizes the figure's ponderous mass. The face characterized by the low brow, heavy eyelids, swollen jaws, and pouty mouth is particularly relevant in establishing the connection with the sculptures in the Munthe collection.[50]

The carving technique used in the image of Ananda (Plate 54) and Kaśyapa (Plate 55) constitutes another link with the Munthe sculptures. The very long and deeply cut grooves of the falling draperies are, for instance, detectable in the folds of the robe of the monk in contemplation and in the falling scarves adorning the Bodhisattva in The University Museum, Philadelphia. Kaśyapa and the monk in contemplation display also the same thick-set torso, the same cut of the cowl, and placing of the hands.

The fashion of the costume worn by the Eleven-headed Kuan-yin and by the Philadelphia Bodhisattva strengthens the T'ang dating. In T'ang paintings, Bodhisattvas wear a similar fluid *dhoti* kept in place by a heavy sash which falls to the ground between the deity's feet. They also wear similar stoles which wrap the figure's shoulders and form two loops in front of the body. Among several examples at our disposal, the Bodhisattva painted on the west wall of Cave 199 at Tun-huang (Plate 52), dated to the Middle T'ang (781-848), well illustrates this fashion. The similarity between the painting and the sculpture in The Philadelphia Museum extends to the detail of the beaded jewelry which clasps and pulls up the skirt at the sides.[51]

One more sculpture in the Munthe collection is added to the group of images which derive from the Wu-t'ai-shan style. It is the white marble image of a monk which is without head (1.35 m. high), (Plate 56), unmistakably fashioned on the model of Ananda.

The closing section of this investigation stressed once more the importance of the Wu-t'ai-shan as a leading Buddhist center for the faith and the arts during the second half of the T'ang period. From approximately 750, it heavily influenced the artistic production of the neighboring provinces, like Hopei. After the Buddhist persecution, in 845, the center assumed an even stronger role of leadership in view of the decline of Ch'ang-an, the T'ang capital. From mid-ninth century until the end of the dynasty and well beyond it, the Wu-t'ai-shan inspired the production of Buddhist images and left a legacy which the Khitans accepted and moulded into their distinctive Liao style.

NOTES

1. Osvald Siren, "Chinese Sculptures of the Sung, Liao and Chin Dynasties," *Bulletin of The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm*, 14 (1942), pp. 45–64.

2. Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of chinese Society: Liao* (907-1115) (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 60. This is an annotated translation of most of the *Liao shih*. (Liao History).

3. Linda Cooke Johnson, "The Wedding Cerimony for an Imperial Liao Princess. Wall Paintings from a Liao Dynasty Tomb in Jilin," *Artibus Asiae*, 44, 2/3 (1983), pp. 107–36.

4. Chung-hua ti-t'u hsüeh-she, publ., *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi* (Atlas of the History and Geography of China), 8 vols., (Shanghai, 1975), vol. 6: Jos Mullie, "Les anciennes villes de l'empire des grands Leao au Royaume Mongol de Ḅarin," *T'oung Pao*, 21 (1922), pp. 105–231.

5. Sekino Tadashi and Takeshima Takuichi, *Ryokin jidai no kenchiku to sono Butsuzo* (The Architecture and the Buddhist Sculpture of the Liao and Chin Dynasties), 2 vols. of plates (text not published), (Tokyo, 1934–35); Takeshima Takuichi, *Ryokin jidai no kenchiku to sono Butsuzo* (Tokyo, 1944), a selection of plates from the preceding work with text; Torii Ryuzo, *Kokogakujo yori mitaru Ryo no bunka (zufu)* (Culture of the Liao Dynasty from the viewpoint of Archeology, Illustrations), 4 vols., (Tokyo, 1936). Gustav Ecke, "Structural Features of the Stone-Built Ting Pagodas. A Preliminary Study. Chapter Two: Brick Pagodas in the Liao Style," *Monumenta Serica*, 13 (1948), pp. 331–65.

6. Sekino and Takeshima, *Op. Cit.*, 2, pls. 75–77.

7. *Ibid.*, pls. 71–74.

8. In this investigation, the sculpture adorning *dharani* pillars was not included since Siren's information is still valid. To the latter, one should add a few more examples published in Torii, *Op. Cit.*, 2, pls. 112 and 116 The first dated to 1085 is in the Tokyo National Museum; the second ascribed to the reign of Emperor Tao-tsung (1055–1101) is located at the Yün-chü Temple, Fang-shan, Hopei.

9. Osvald Siren, "A Chinese Temple and Its Plastic Decoration in the Twelfth Century," *Etudes d'Orientalisme*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1932), 2. pp. 499-505; Liang Ssu-ch'eng, "Report on the Ancient Architecture of Ta-t'ung," *Chung-kuo ying-tsao hsüeh-she hui-k'an* (Bulletin of the Society for the Research in Chinese Architecture), 4, nos. 3 and 4 (1934); Sekino Tadashi and Tokiwa Daijo, *Shina bunka shiseki* (Cultural Monuments in China), 12 vols. 1, pls. 80 ff.; Shansi Yun-kang shih-k'u wen-wu pao-kuan so, ed. *Hua-yen ssu* (The Hua-yen Temple) (Peking, 1980); T'ang Yün-chün et al., "Hua-yen ssu," *Wen wu* no. 9 (1982), pp. 78–81.

10. North of the Lower Hua-yen Temple there is another temple precinct whose main hall is the Ta-hsiung pao which was built during the Chin dynasty. In Ming time, the two precincts and their buildings came to be known as the Lower and Upper Hua-yen, an appellation used to this day. The two complexes suffered fire and destruction during the several dynasties which followed the Liao; the Sutra Repository, however, remained, miraculously, intact. See *Hua-yen ssu*, pp. 2–3.

11. Sekino and Tokiwa, *Op. Cit.*, 1. p. 54; *Hua-yen ssu*, p. 6.

12. Nei Meng-ku tzu-ch'ih ch'ü wen-wu kung-tso tui, "Chao-wu-ta-men, Ning-ch'eng hsien Hsiao-lin-chang-tzu Liao mu fa-chüeh chien-pao (Brief Report on the Excavation of Liao Tombs at Hsiao-lin-chang-tzu, Ning-ch'eng County, Chao-wu-ta-men)," *Wen wu*, no. 9 (1961), pp. 44–49, the excavation in this village in Inner Mongolia brought to the discovery of four masks, one belonging to a woman. A Khitan death mask has been for a long time in the collection of The University Museum, Philadelphia. See Jan Fontein and Wu Tung, *Unearthing China's Past* (Boston, 1973), pp. 192–94.

13. Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio, *Unko sekkutsu: Yün-kang, The Buddhist Cave Temples of the Fifth Century AD in North China*, 16 vols. (Tokyo, 1951–56), 4, pls. 81–85.

14. Ch'en Ming-ta, *Ying-hsien mu t'a* (The Timber Pagoda at Ying-hsien) (Peking, 1980).

15. Shan-hsi sheng Ying-hsien mu t'a wen-wu pao-kuan, et al., "Shan-hsi Ying-hsien Fo-kung ssu mu t'a nei fa-hsien Liao-tai chen-kuei wen-wu (Precious relics of the Liao Dynasty Found in the Timber Pagoda of the Fo-kung Temple at Ying-hsien, Shansi)," *Wen wu*, no. 6 (1982), pp. 1–18, fig. 1, p. 2.

16. Shao Fu-yü, "Feng-kuo ssu (The Feng-kuo Temple)," *Wen wu*, no 12 (1980), pp. 86–87.

17. According to the stele *in situ* (in the 1930s), dated to 986, the pavilion was sponsored by a Khitan official. See Takeshima Takuichi, *op. Cit., p. 70.*

18. Matsubara Saburo, "Godai So zo-zo-ko (Investigation of Image-Making during the Five Dynasties and Sung Period)," *Bijutsu kenkyu* no. 231 (Nov. 1936), pp. 23–33.

19. Amoghavajra (d. 774), one of the founder of Esoteric Buddhism in China, is reputed to have had special ties with the Ch'ing-ko Temple, in the north-east section of the Wu-t'ai-shan, not far from the Fo-kuang Temple. See Tokiwa Daijo and Sekino Tadashi, *Shina Bukkyo shiseki* (Buddhist Monuments in China), 5 vols, (Tokyo, 1930), vol. 5 (text), pp. 28–30. The presence of the Esoteric doctrine and of its ritualistic images at the Wu-t'ai-shan may explain the frequency of Esoteric sculptures in Liao art. The easy communication between Ta-t'ung and the monastic center certainly favored the transition.

20. Wen-wu Ch'u-pan She and Heibonsha, eds., *Chugoku sekkutsu: Tonko Makkokutsu* (Chinese Cave Temples: The Mokao Caves at Tun-huang), 5 vols. (Tokyo, 1980–82), vol. 5, pls. 55–67.

21. Marylin M. Rhie, *A Study of the Historical Literary Evidences and Stylistic Chronological Dating of the Buddhist Images in the Main Shrine Hall of the Fo-kuang Monastery at Wu-t'ai-shan*, doctoral dissertation, (University of Chicago, 1970), pp. 24–25.

22. The height of the sculptures varies: the Buddhas are 5.30 m. high, the heavenly kings 4.10 m., Wen-shu and P'u-hsien 4.80 m., standing Bodhisattvas and monks 3.70 m., and the kneeling offerers 1.96 m. See Rhie, *Ibid.*, p. 7.

23. The earliest appearance of this supernatural mark is in connection with the Buddha preaching to Subhuti in the frontispiece to the wood-block printed roll of the *Diamond Sutra*, dated 868, in the British Museum Library. See Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia, The Stein Collection* in the British Museum, 3 vols., (Tokyo, 1982–83), vol. 2, fig. 144.

24. The Kuan-yin was considered a Yüan archaistic sculpture by Sherman Lee and Ho Wai-kam, *Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yüan Dynasty (1279–1368)* (Cleveland, 1968), pp. 112–3. In the Cleveland exhibit of 1968, the image was shown with a head which has since been removed.

25. This type of jewelry was first used to adorn late T'ang Bodhisattva images. Examples are especially found in Tun-huang frescoes and in silk banners. Among the latter there is, for instance, the banner of a Kuan-yin dated 910, at the end of T'ang. See Roderick Whitfield, *Op. Cit.*, 2, pl. 7. The use of this jewelry, furthermore, was not restricted to the regions north of the Yellow River, but spread also in those south of it as one can see in the bronze sculpture excavated at Chin-hua, Che-kiang, which is dated to the 10th c. Che-kiang sheng wen-wu kuan-li wei-yüan hui, "Chin-hua shih Wan Fo t'a chi ch'ing-li chien-pao (Abbreviated Report on the Clearing of the Foundations of the Myriad Buddha Pagoda at Chin-hua)," *Wen wu*, no. 5 (1957), pp. 41–47.

26. Liao Chung-ching ch'eng-chih fa-chüeh wei-yüan hui, "Liao Chung-ching Ch'eng-chih fa-chüeh te chung-yao shou-huo (Important Harvest Excavated at the Site of the Liao Middle Capital)," *Wen wu* no. 1 (1961), pp. 34–40. The article does not offer any chronology for the Liao remains since they were heavily mingled with those of successive dynasties.

27. H. F. E. De Visser, ed., *Chinese Art*, Publication de la societé des amis de l'art Asiatique, vol. 3, (La Haye, 1927), pl. 29.

28. The source of this iconography is perhaps the *Amoghapaśa-kalpa-raja Sutra*, *Taisho daizokyo*, vol. 20, no. 342.

29. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Etude Iconographique sur Mañjuśri*, Publication de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient, vol. 55, (Paris, 1964), pp. 26–29.

30. Chi-lin sheng po-wu-kuan, "Ming-tai Hu-lun szu-pu Wu-la-pu ku-chih Wu-la ku-ch'eng tiao-ch'a (The Ancient Site of Wu-la, Part of the Ming Territory of Hu-lun. Investigation of the Ancient City of Wu-la)," *Wen-wu*, no. 2 (1966), pp. 28–32. Wu-la was a Ming city which had been built over the remains of cities belonging to the previous dynasties, the Liao being one of them.

31. According to the files of the museum, this sculpture was found in 1918 lying in a river in a suburb of Liao-yang, Liaoning, the former Liao Eastern Capital. This information was supplied by Mr. C. T. Loo from whom the bronze image was acquired in April, 1922.

32. Siren, "Chinese Sculptures of the Sung, Liao and Chin Dynasty," pl. 5:1, 2.

33. Fontein and Wu Tung, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 185–87; Feng Yung-chien, "Liao-ning sheng Ch'ien-p'ing Hsin-min te san-tso Liao-mu (Three Liao tombs at Hsin-min and Ch'ien-p'ing, in Liaoning Province)," *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* no. 2 (1960), pp. 15–24. The tomb is dated to the early 11th c. on the basis of its shape and of its burial objects, Jin Feng-yi, "Liao-ning Chao-yang Ch'ien-ch'uang-hu ts'un Liao-mu (A Liao Tomb in the Village of Ch'ien-ch'uang-hu, Chao-yang, Liaoning)," *Wen wu* no. 12 (1980), pp. 17–29. The tomb is dated to 1004 upon comparison with other dated Liao burials and with the objects found in them.

34. Wittfogel and Feng, *Op. Cit.*, p. 358.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

36. R. Gordon Wasson, *SOMA, Divine Mushroom of Immortality* (New York, 1972). Mircea Eliade, *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase* (Paris, 1951).

37. Wittfogel and Feng, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 256–78.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 283.

39. Ch'ien Je-ho sheng po-wu-kuan ch'ou-pei tzu, "Ch'ih-feng hsien Ta-ying-tzu Liao mu fa-chüeh pao-kao (Report on the Excavation of a Liao Tomb at Ta-ying-tzu, Ch'ih-feng county)," *K'ao-ku-hsüeh-pao*, no. 3 (1956), pp. 1–26.

40. Torii Ryuzo, "Ryodai no hekiga ni tsuite (On the Wall Paintings of the Liao Dynasty)," *Kokka*, no. 490,

pp. 272–80, no. 491, pp. 283–89, no. 492, pp. 313–17, no. 493, pp. 343–50 (Sept.–Dec. 1931. In this series, the author examines the decorative motifs in the article no. 493.

41. Ho-pei sheng wen-wu kuan-li-ch'u, "Ho-pei Hsüan-hua Liao P'i-hua mu fa-chüeh chien-pao (Short Report on the Excavation of a Tomb with Wall Paintings at Hsüan-hua, Hopei)," *Wen wu* no. 8 (1975), pp. 31–39.

42. Tsao Hsün, "Yeh-mao-t'ai Liao mu chung te kuan ch'uang hsia-chiang (A Curtain for the Coffin Platform in the Liao Tomb at Yeh-mao-t'ai)," *Wen-wu*, no. 12 (1975), pp. 49–59. The tomb was the burial of a Khitan official and is ascribed to the second half of the tenth century. It is especially famous for the two Northern Sung silk scroll paintings found inside the sarcophagus.

43. Johann Wilhelm Normann Munthe was a native of Bergen (1864–1935). He went to China in 1886 and became Director of Customs at Tientsin. During the Sino-Japanese war, in 1894, he helped the Chinese Government to reorganize their cavalry. He befriended General Yüan Shih-k'ai who became the first President of the Chinese Republic; by the latter, Munthe was promoted to the rank of Chief of the Guards. General Munthe assembled a very large collection of Chinese art–paintings, sculptures, porcelaines, and textiles. Part of it was sent to Bergen during his lifetime. In 1927, motivated by philanthropy, the General wished to sell part of the collection. For that purpose, most of the sculptures were shipped to the Los Angeles County Museum, and some of the paintings to the Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. The sale was never concluded. General Munthe never returned to Norway, but died in Peking in 1935. Between 1961 and 1964, the sculptures and paintings which were in the United States were brought back to Bergen and placed in the Vestlandske Kunstindustrimuseum. See Peter Anker and Per Olow Leijon, *Chinese Sculpture and Paintings, General Munthe's Collection* (Bergen, 1980).

44. In his earlier *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Centuries*, 4 vols., (London, 1925), Siren had dated the same sculptures to the close of the T'ang period, vol. 4, pls. 541–47.

45. An effort to locate the building through literary sources and gazetteers has so far brought no result.

46. The cult of Ti-tsang developed in China in the later part of the T'ang dynasty. The Bodhisattva was at first represented alone, as in this sculpture, and later on in conjunction with the kings of hell. For an example of the former see the silk banner from Tun-huang in Roderick Whitfield, *Op. Cit.*, 1, pls. 44 and 45. For the historical background see Pak Youngsook, *The Cult of Ksitigarbha*, Doctoral dissertation, (Heidelberg, 1981).

47. Ono Gemmyo, *Bukkyo no bijutsu to rekishi* (Buddhist Art and History) (Tokyo, 1937), pp. 264–71, fig. 37.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 268–69.

49. The group is published in Shan-hsi sheng jen-min cheng-fu wen-wu kuan-li wei-yüan-tzu hui, ed., *Shan-hsi wen-wu chieh-shao* (Introduction to Shansi Relics) (Peking, 1953) which I was unable to consult. The images of Ananda and Kaśyapa are published in Akiyama Terukazu and Matsubara Saburo, *Arts of China, Buddhist Cave Temples*, translated by Alexander C. Soper, vol. 2, (Tokyo, 1969), figs. 185 and 186. The sculpture of Ananda is not dated, but the inscription on the pedestal was written by the same calligrapher who inscribed the Shih-chia-mou-ni. They are contemporary.

50. The Wu-kou ch'ing-kuang Shih-chia-mou-ni may also be the model of the larger marble Buddhas (over two meter high) in the Munthe collection. They are illustrated in Siren's article, pls.: 2, 3. They are carved out of pure white marble; they could be Chin sculptures of an archaistic type based on the Wu-t'ai-shan model.

51. A standing Bodhisattva (2.17 m. high) in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, was also executed during the T'ang dynasty (750–800) on account of its similarity in typology and costume with the Bodhisattva in The University Museum, Philadelphia. The sculpture is published in Siren's article, pl. 9:1. It is now exhibited without the head.

Chinese Characters

1. 遼代
2. 晉代
3. 契丹
4. 阿保機
5. 遼宁，吉林，黑龙江
6. 臨潢府
7. 巴林右旗
8. 遼陽府（遼陽市）
9. 大定
10. 大名城
11. 大同
12. 燕京
13. 宝生佛
14. 義縣
15. 朝陽
16. 錦縣
17. 北鎮
18. 嘉福寺
19. 鳳凰山
20. 五家子
21. 廣濟寺
22. 聖宗
23. 崇興寺
24. 天寧寺
25. 黄花堂
26. 薄伽教藏殿
27. 下華嚴寺
28. 释迦牟尼
29. 藥師
30. 阿弥陀
31. 定光
32. 弥勒
33. 佛宫寺
34. 應縣

35. 文殊
36. 普賢
37. 毘盧遮那
38. 大法炬陀羅尼經
39. 大雄殿
40. 奉國寺
41. 觀音閣
42. 獨樂寺
43. 薊縣
44. 帝释天
45. 梵天
46. 長安
47. 五台山
48. 佛光寺
49. 願成
50. 天龍山
51. 不空羂索
52. 大吉
53. 雲居寺
54. 房山
55. 烏拉
56. 张家营子，建平
57. 前窗户
58. 靈芝
59. 大营子，赤峰
60. 衛國王
61. 太祖
62. 興宗
63. 宣化
64. 葉茂台法库
65. 保定
66. 定州
67. 地藏
68. 無垢淨光塔
69. 释迦牟尼佛像集

70. 大唐天宝十一載十一月十五日博陵　郡陘邑縣
西子縛?　村?爲國敬造臺　山佛光寺無
垢淨　光塔玉石释迦牟尼　佛一軀神王□□

71. 阿難

72. 迦葉

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Plate 54. Ananda. White marble. Excavated at the former site of the Wu-kou ch'ing-kuang Pagoda of the Fo-kuang Temple at Wu-t'ai-shan, Shansi. T'ang dynasty; ca. 752. (After Akiyama and Matsubara, 185.)

Plate 55. Kaśyapa. White marble. Excavated at the former site of the Wu-kou ch'ing-kuang Pagoda of the

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Plate 56. Monk without head. White marble. T'ang dynasty: mid-8th c. Vestlandske Kunstindustrimuseum, Bergen (After Anker and Leijon, 11.)

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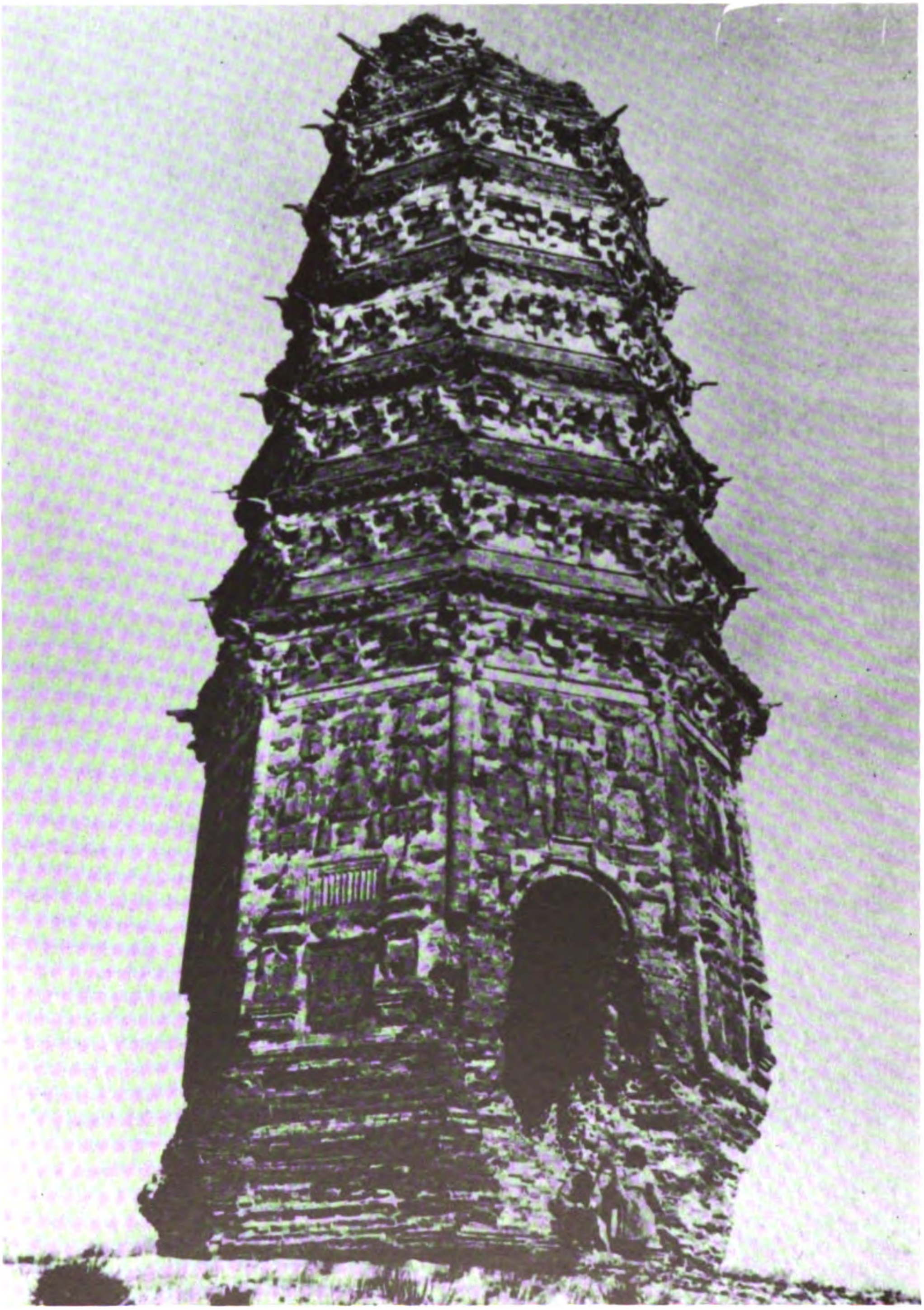

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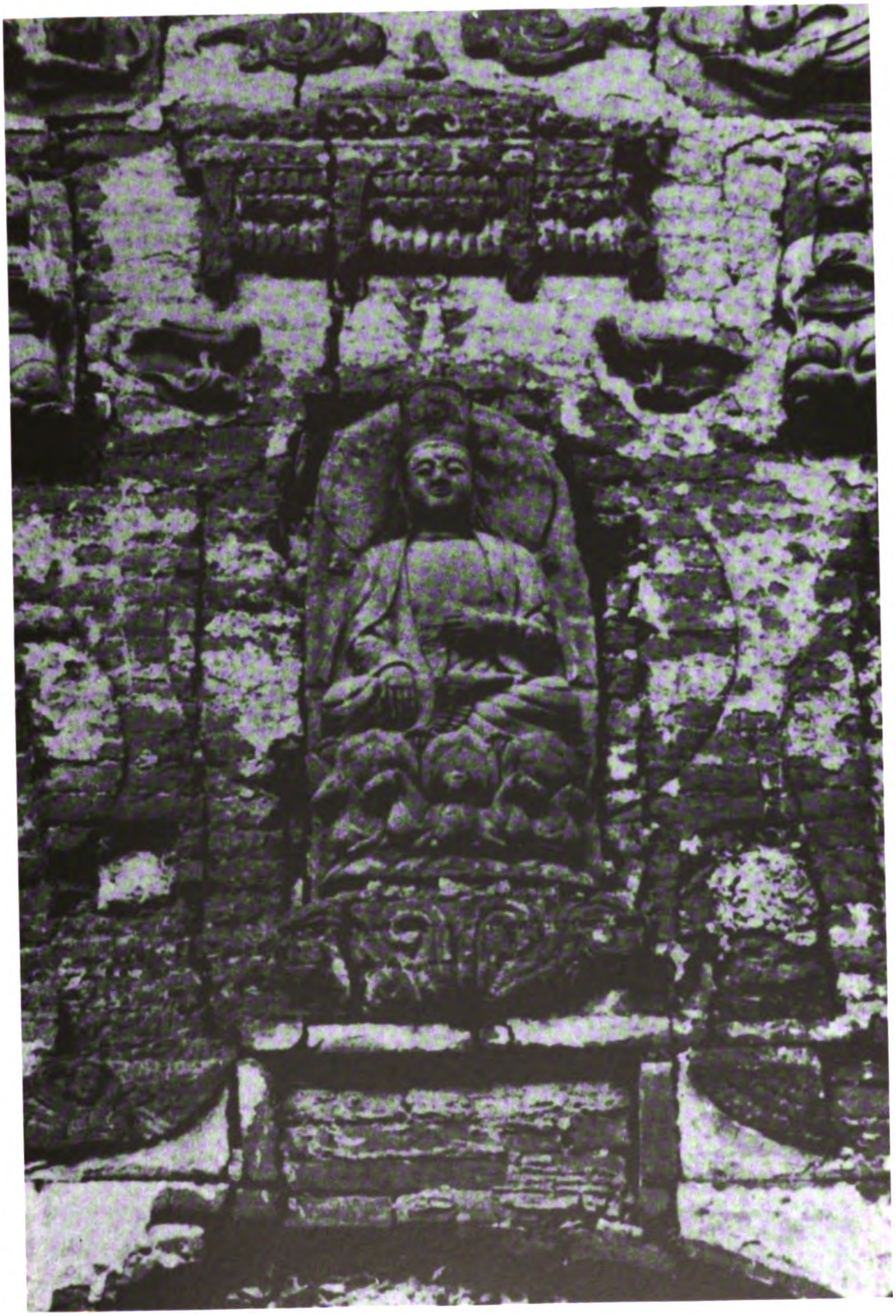

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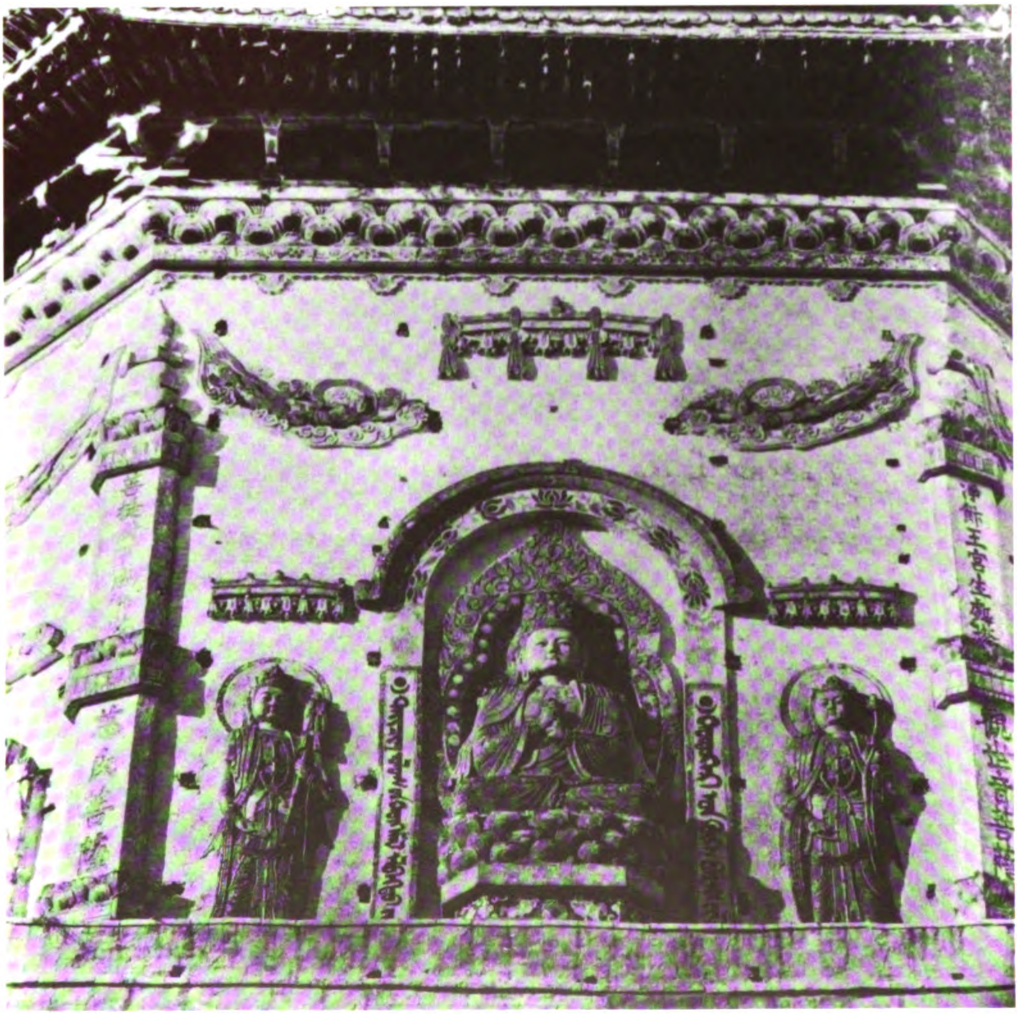

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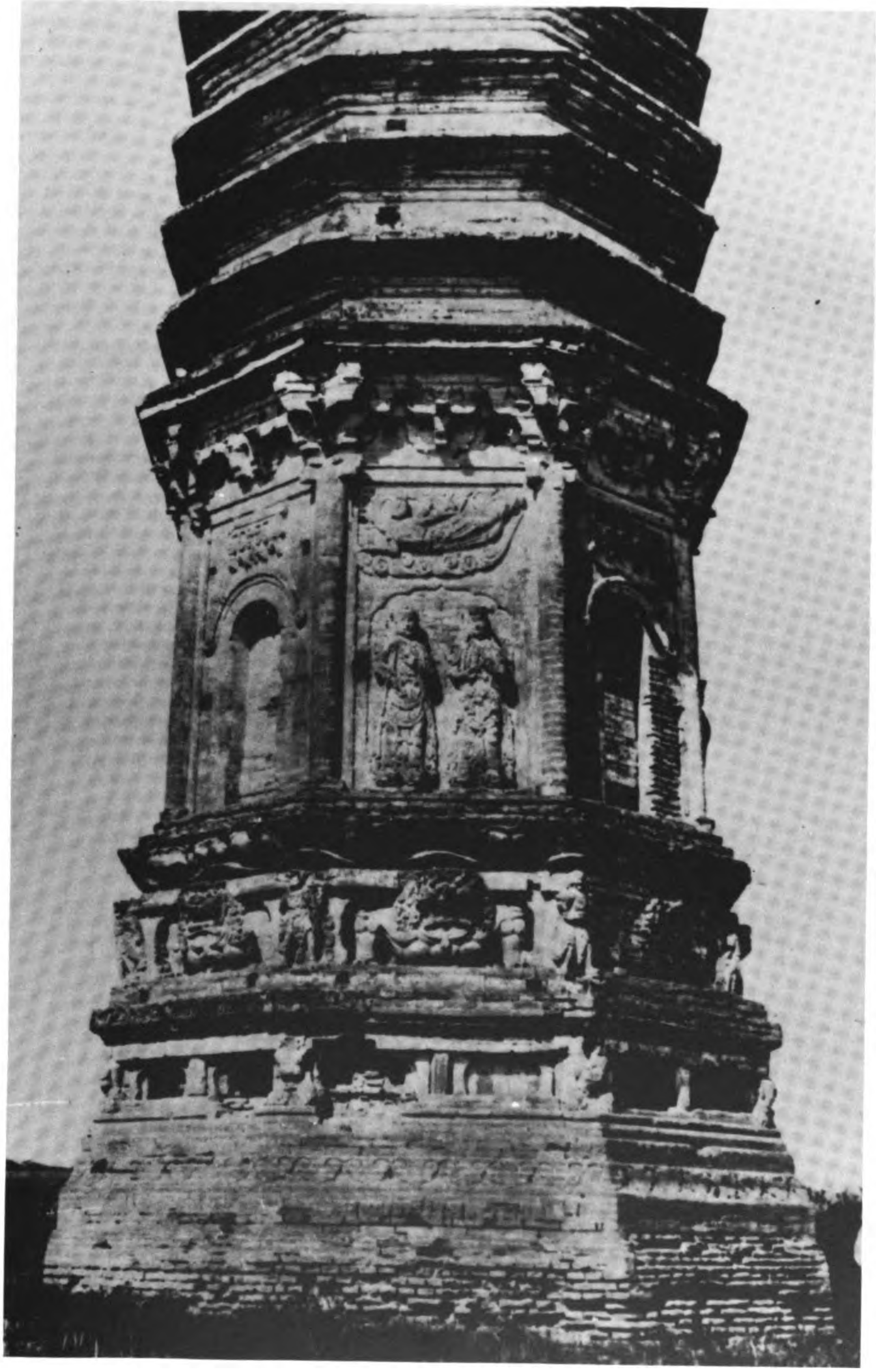

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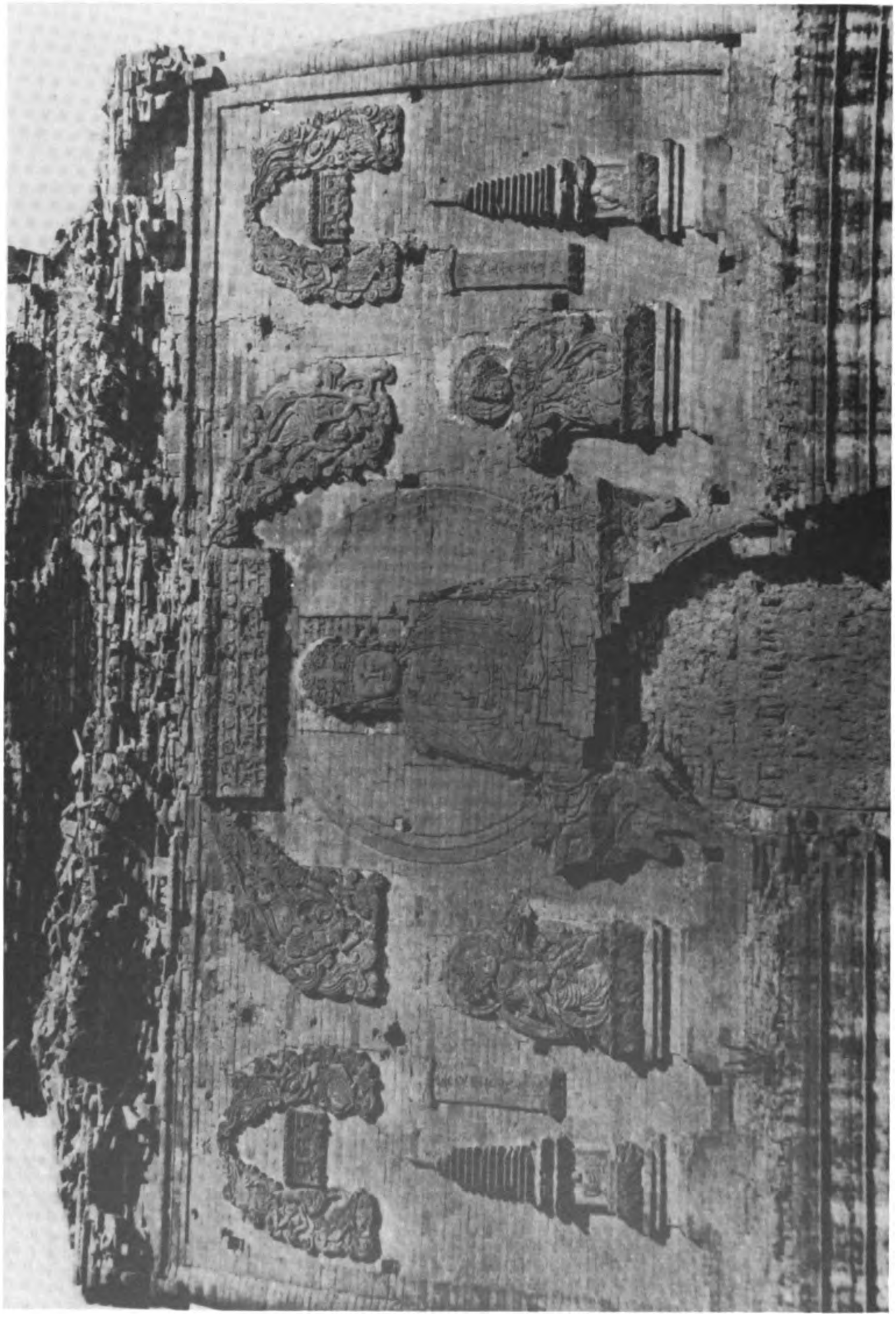

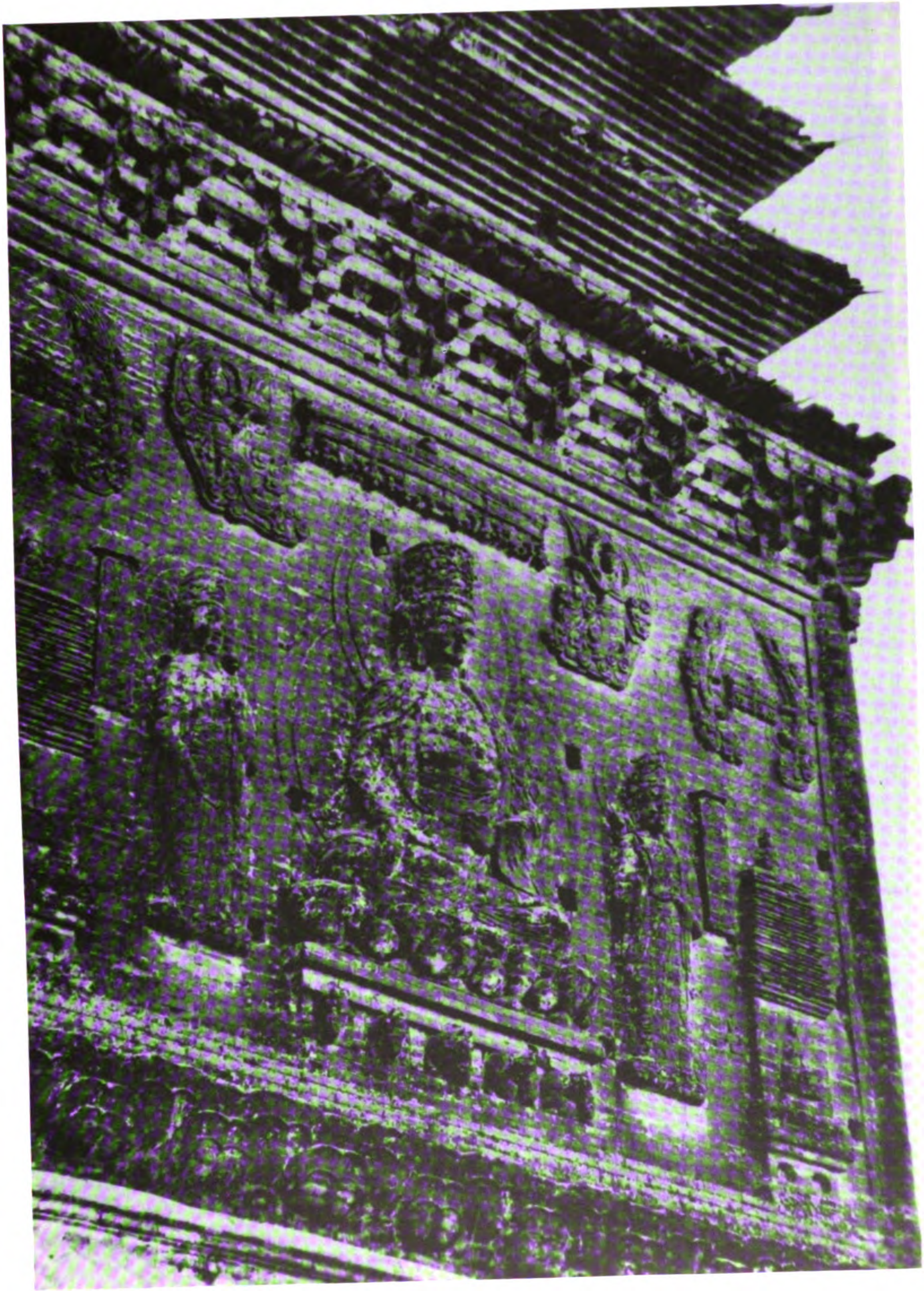

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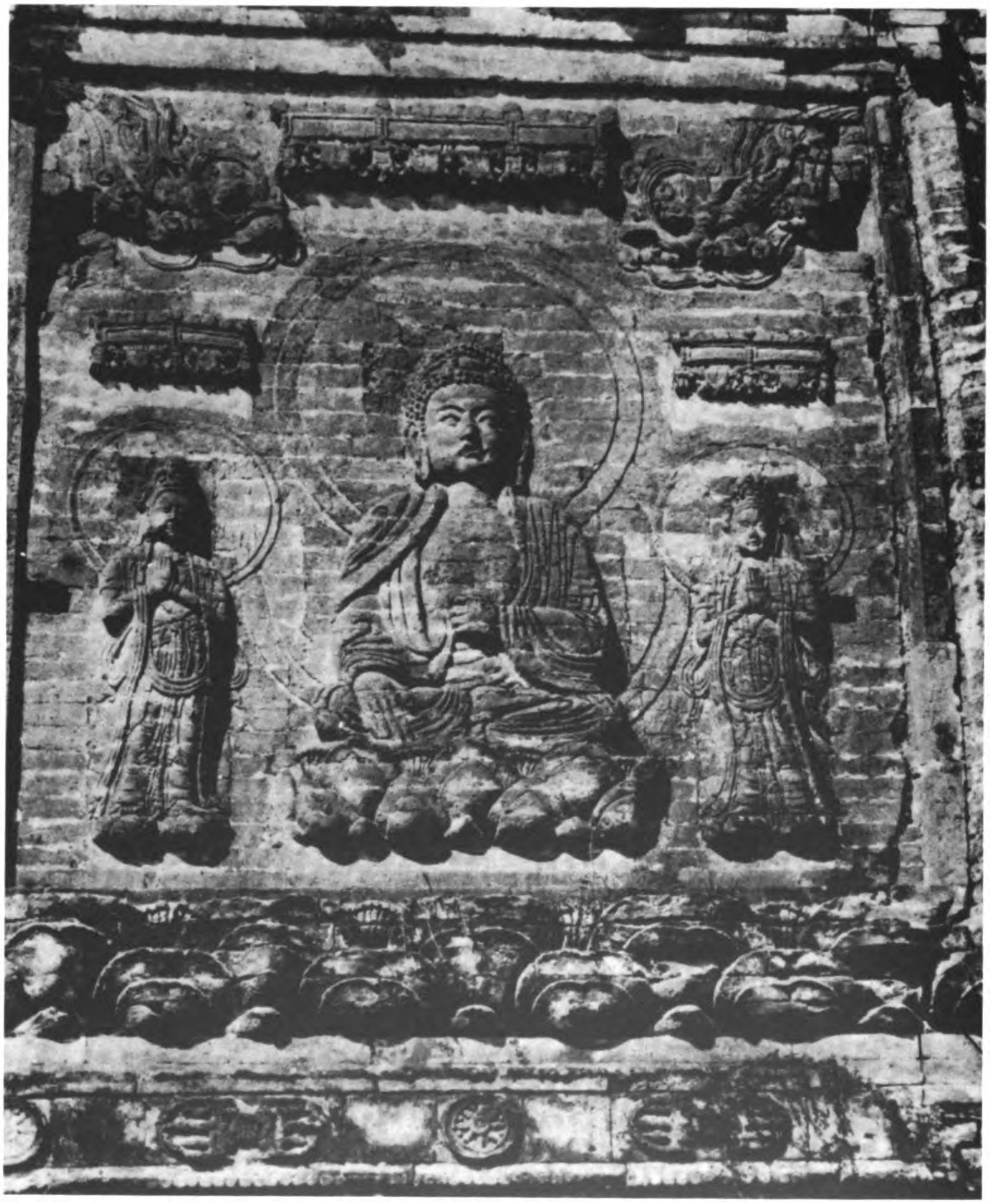

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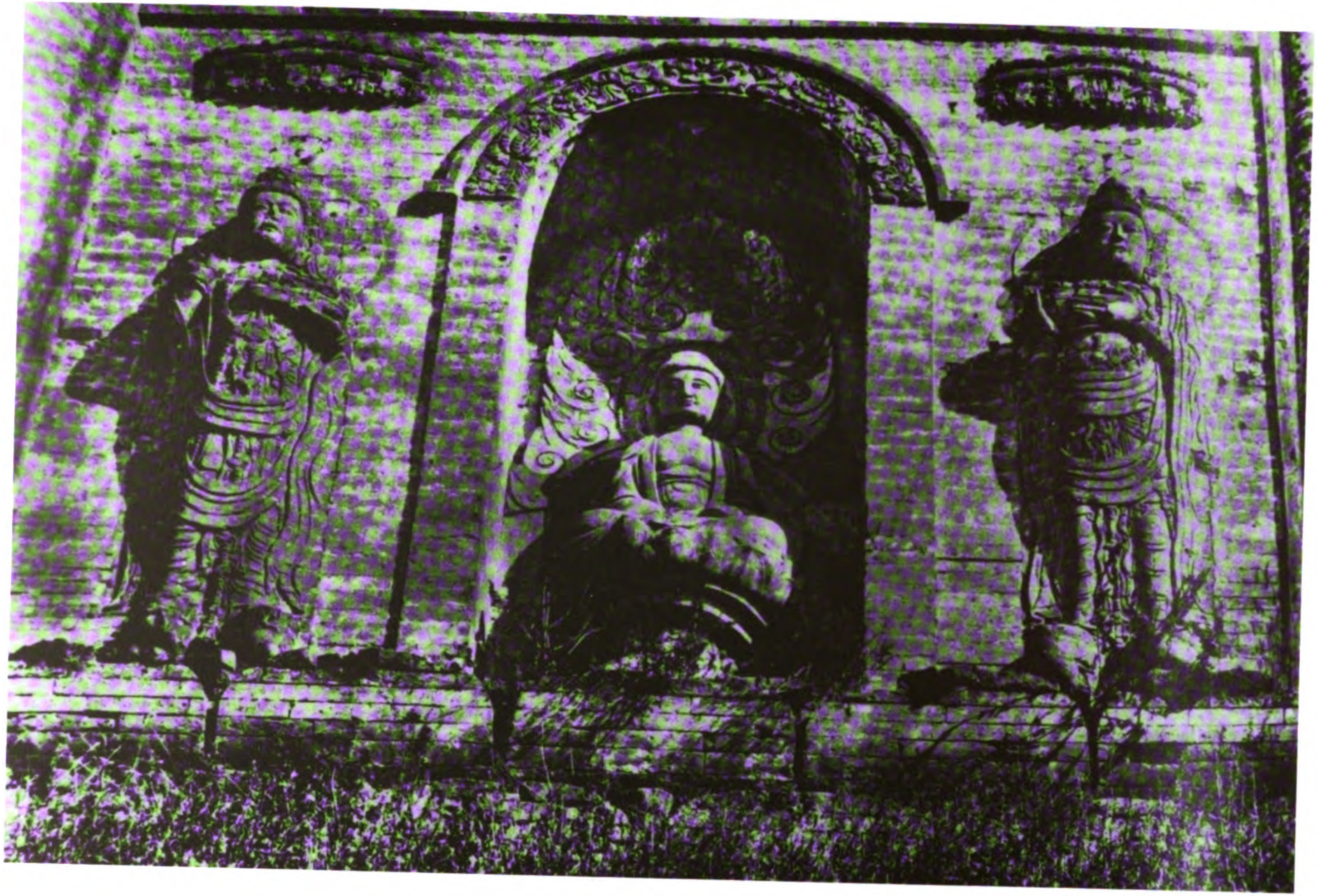

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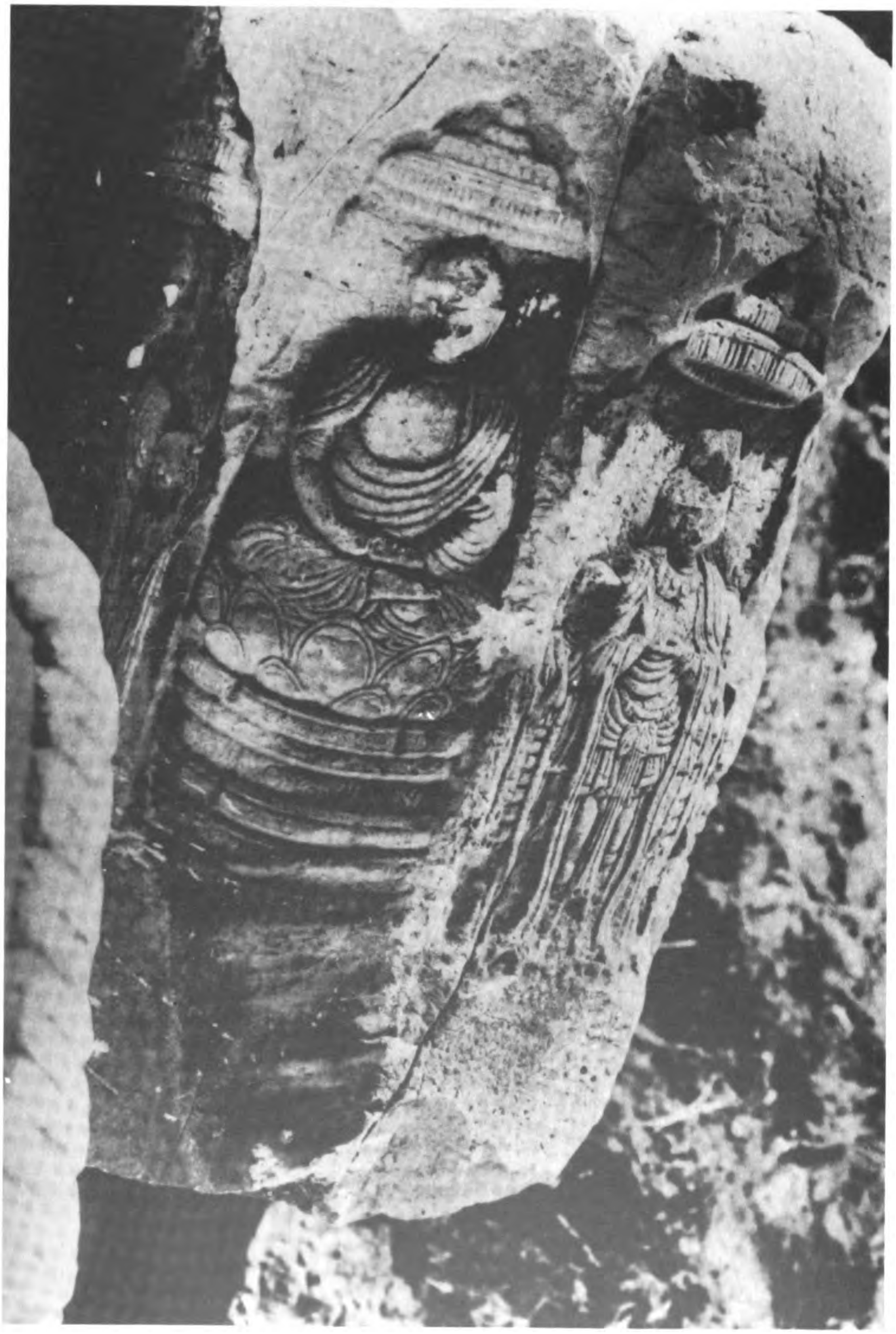

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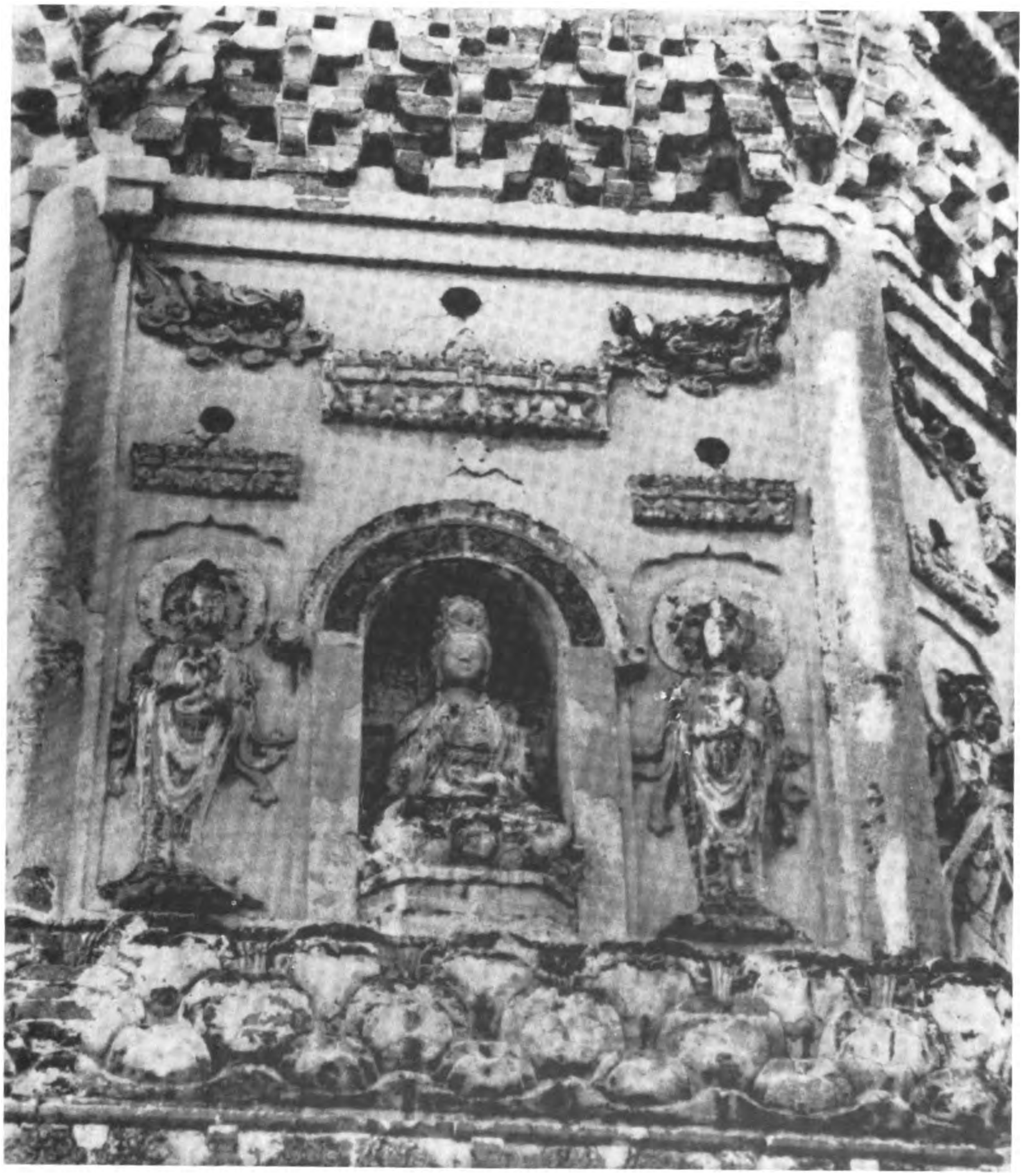

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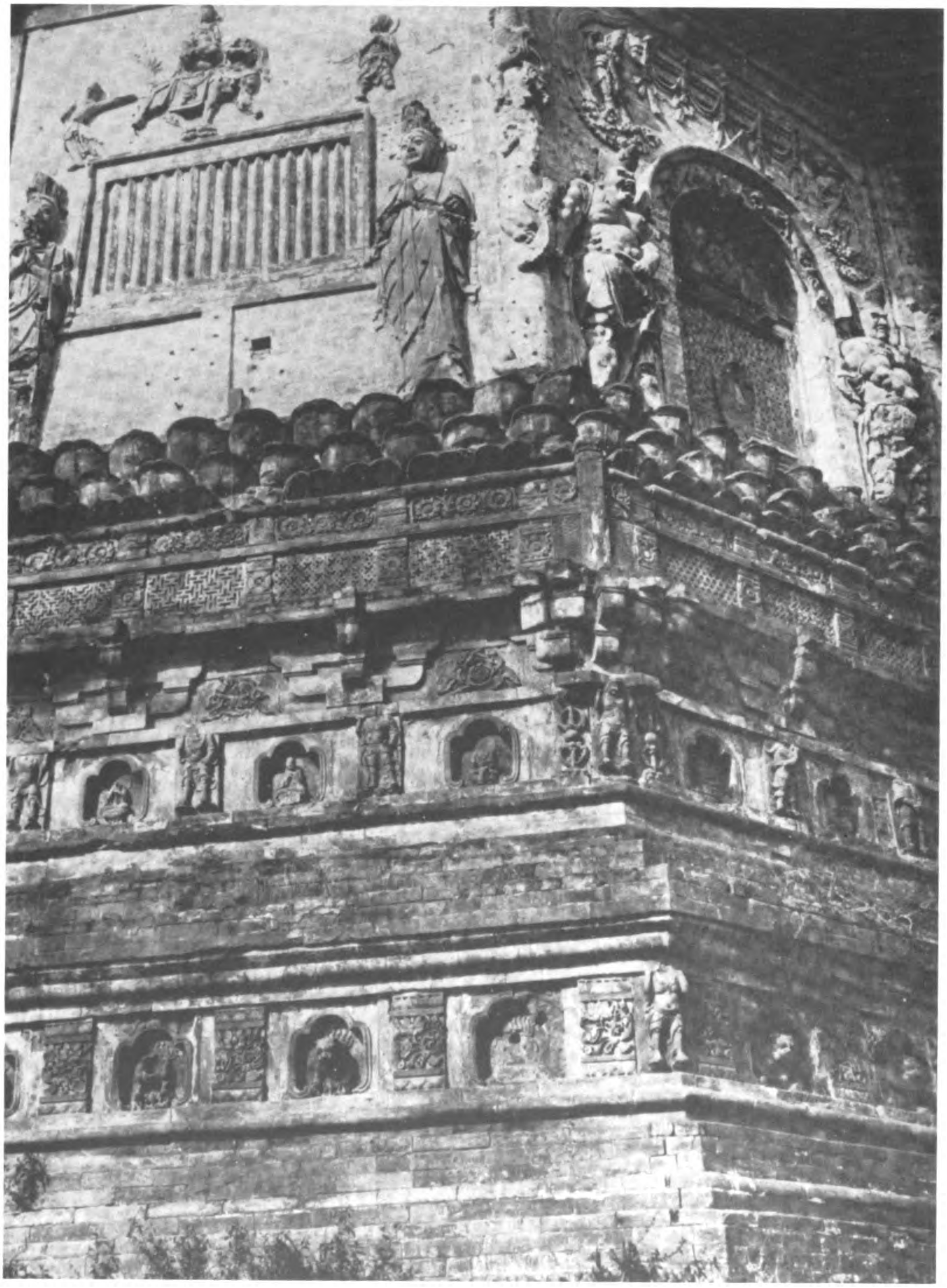

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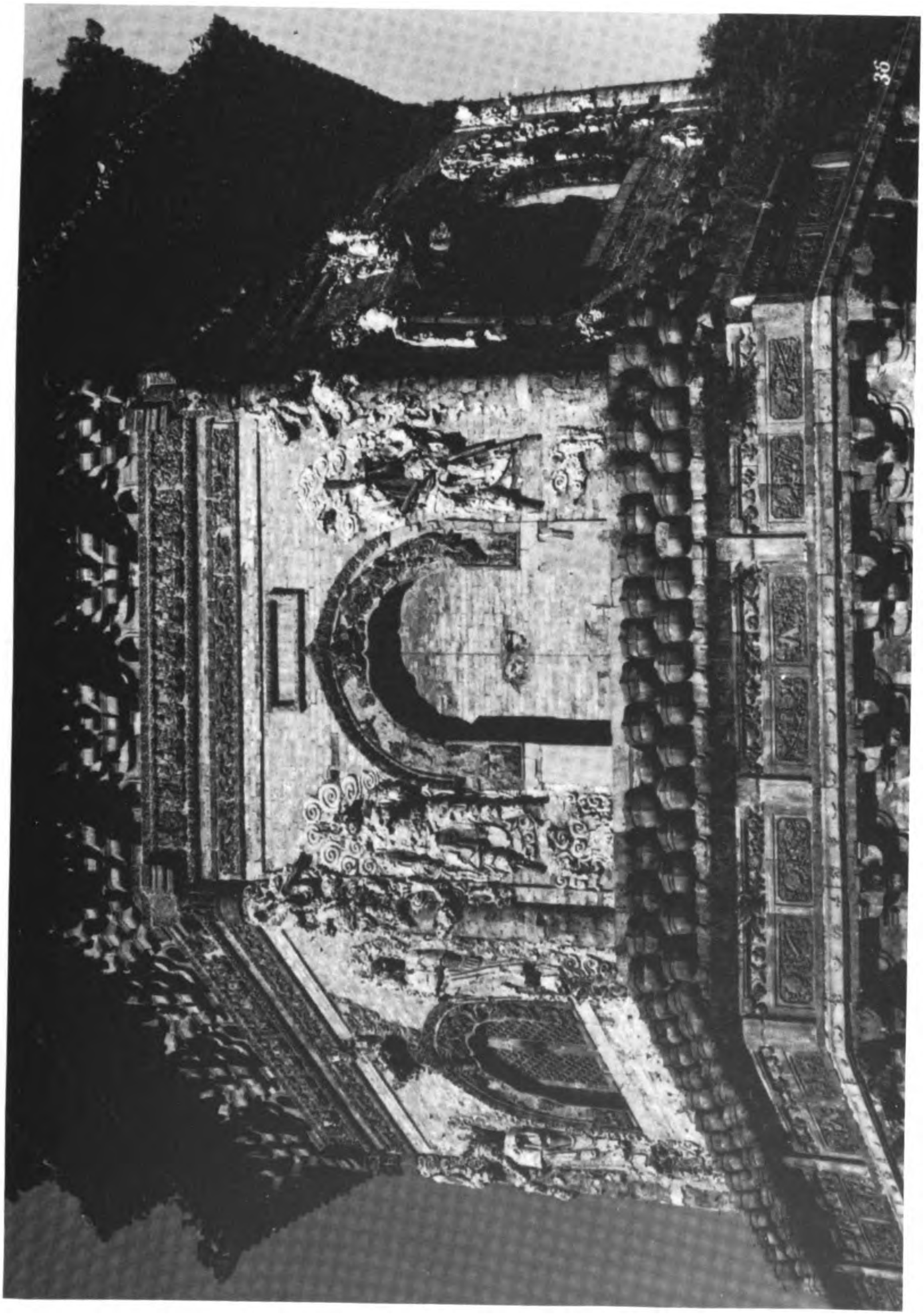

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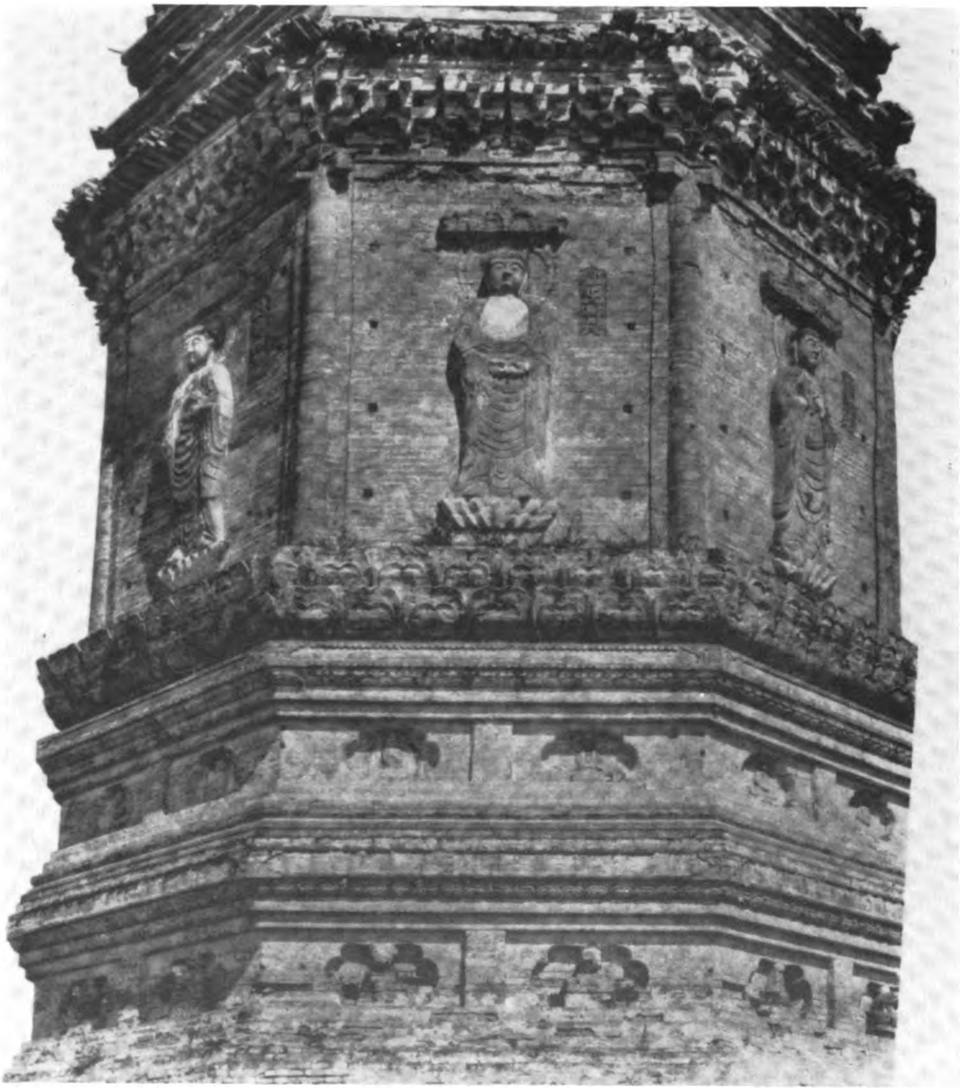

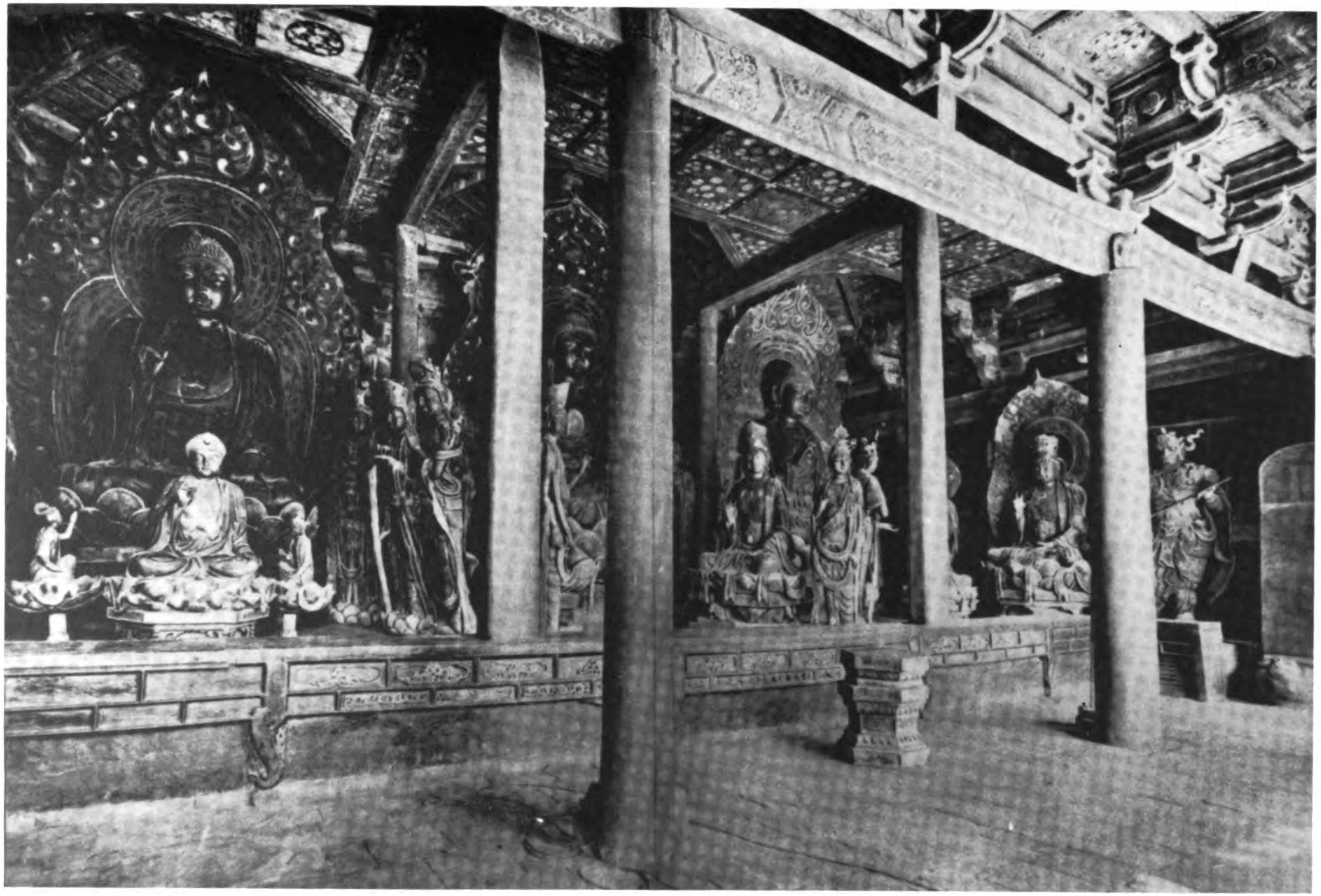

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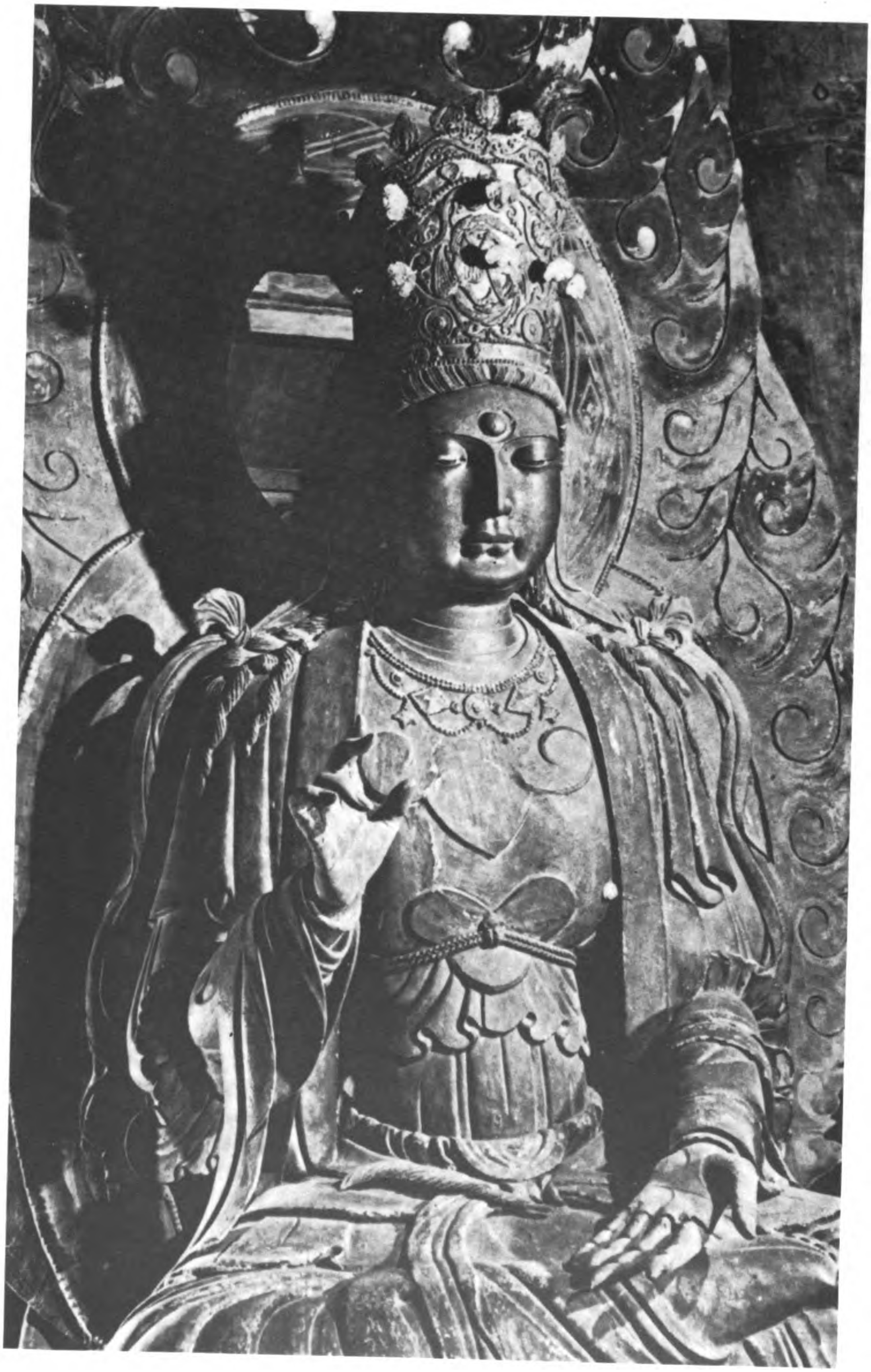

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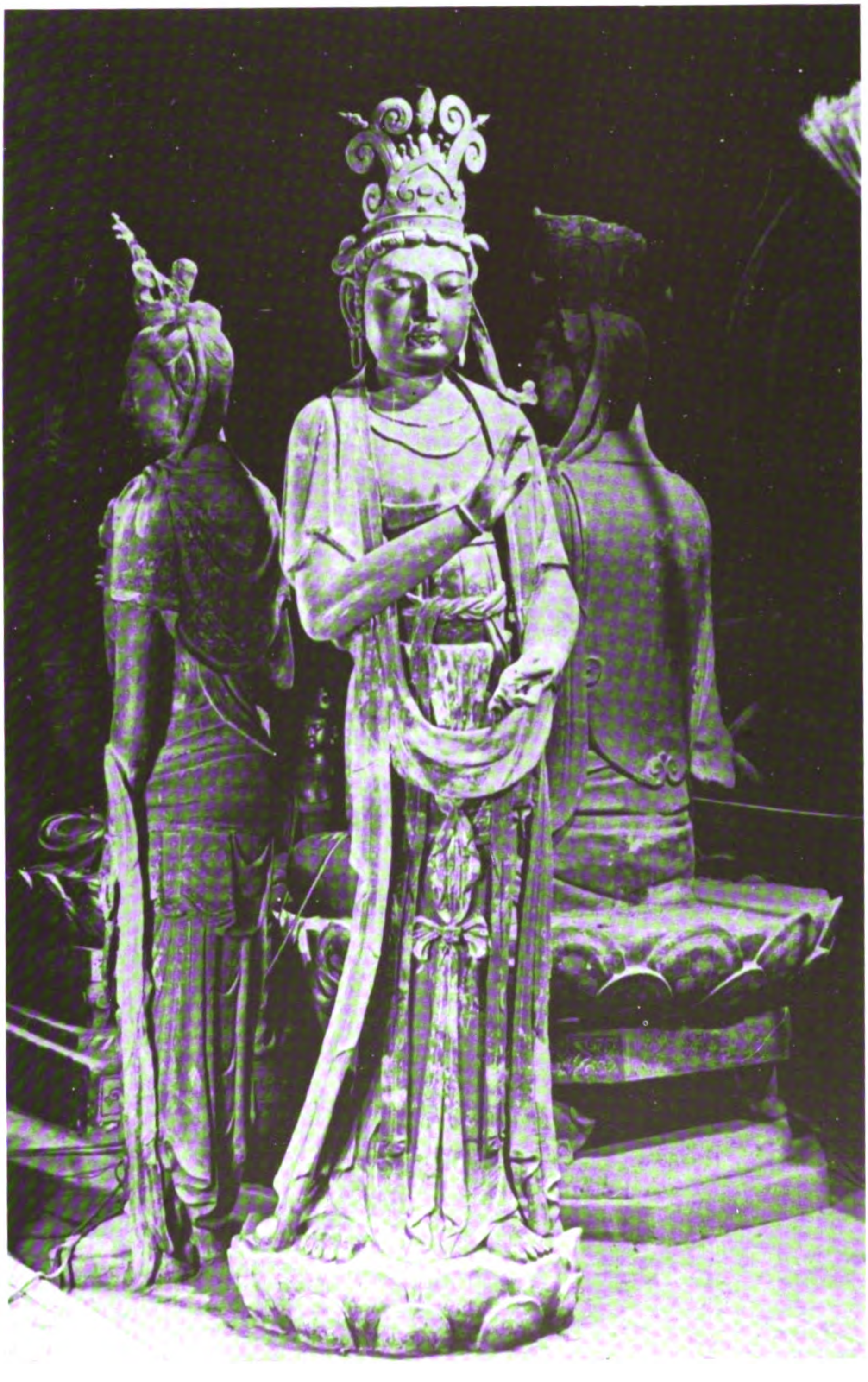

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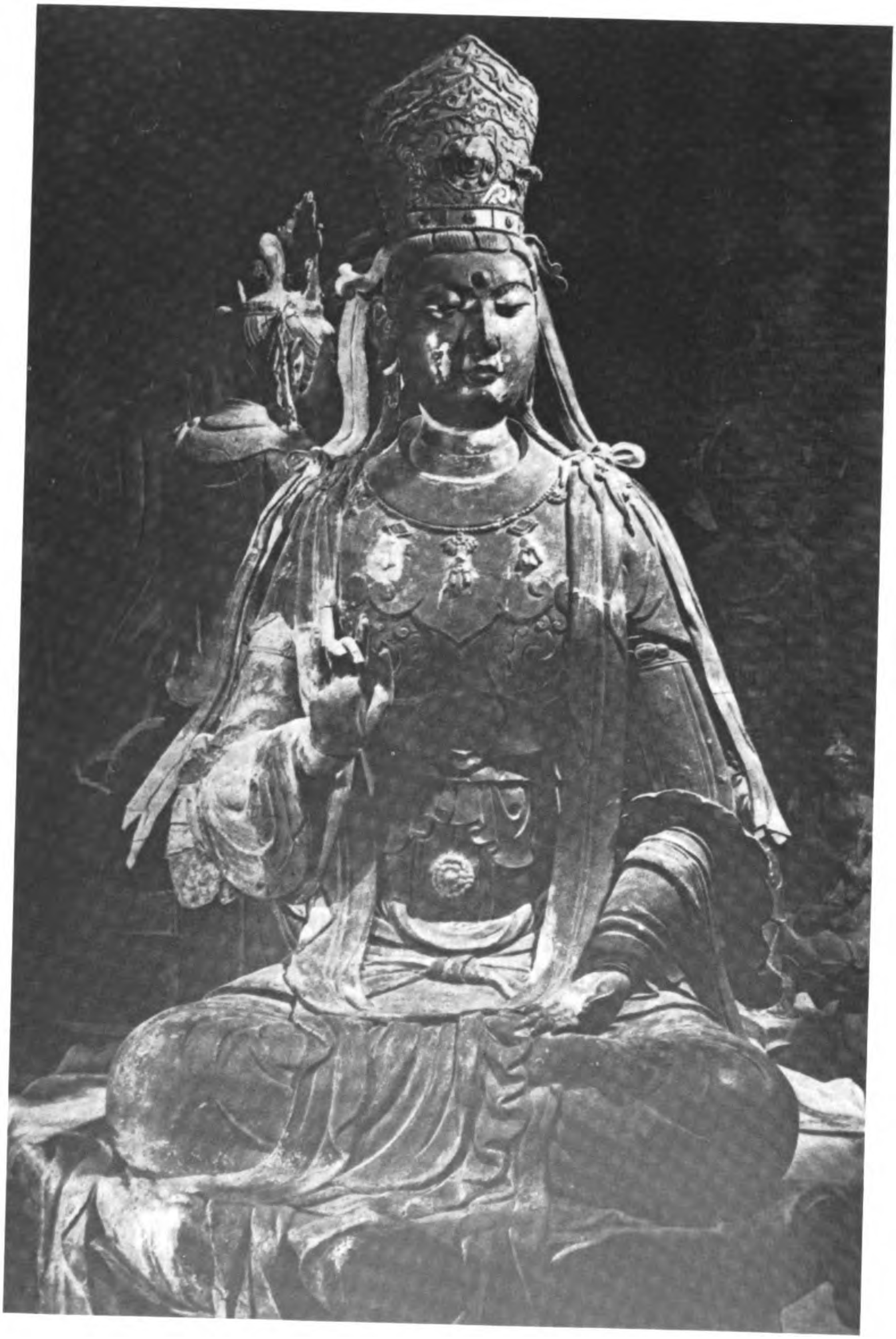

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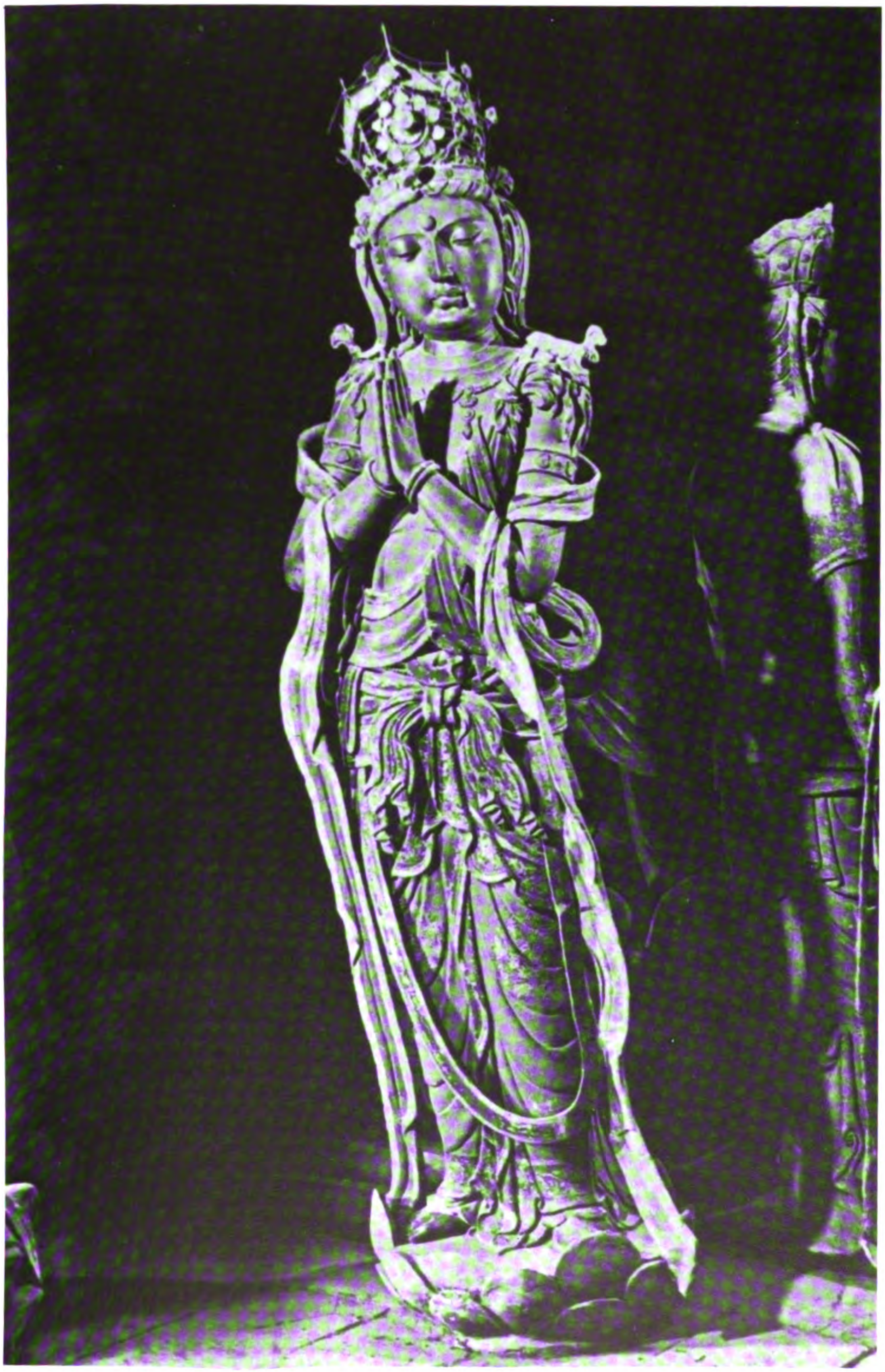

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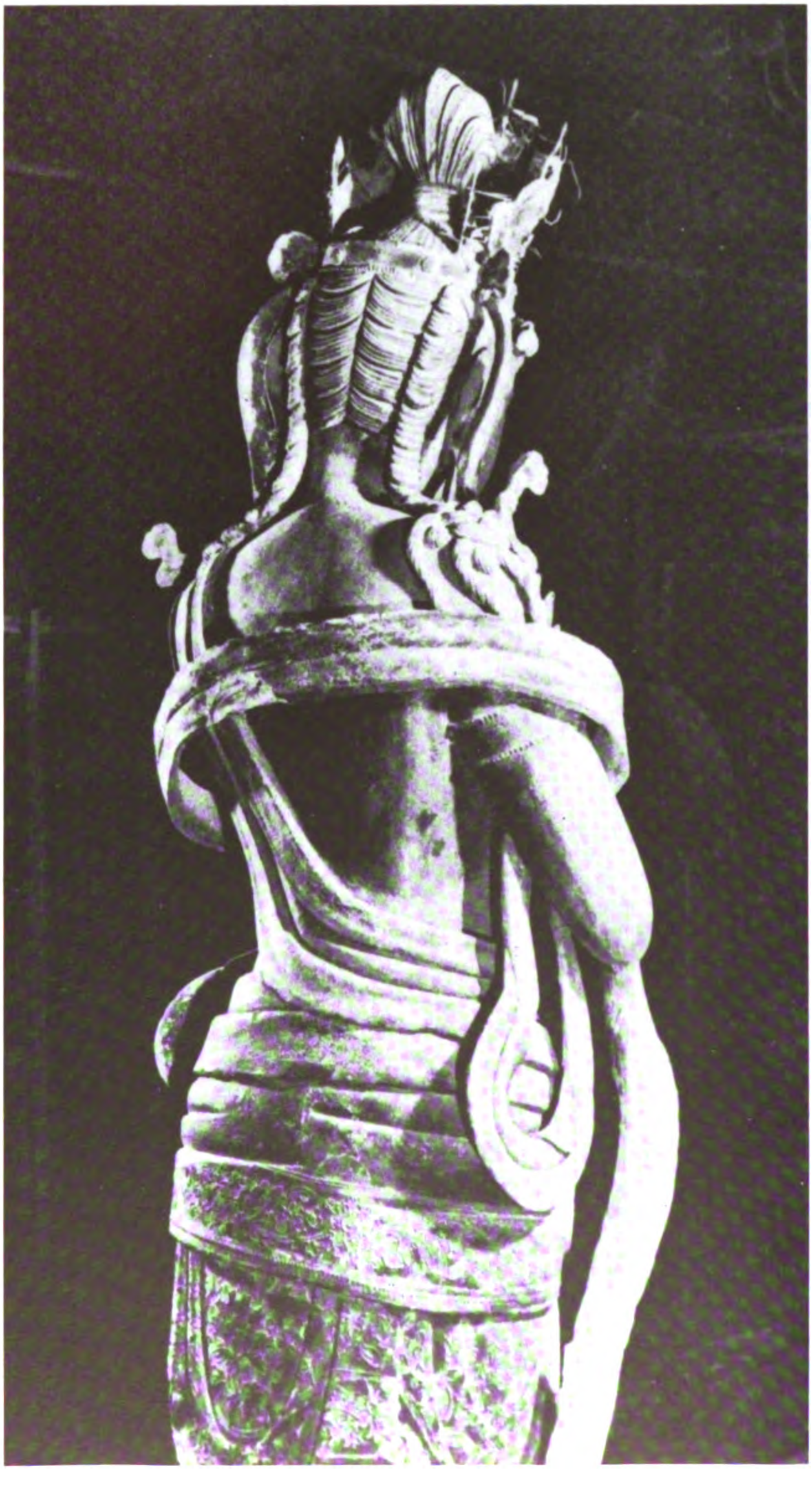

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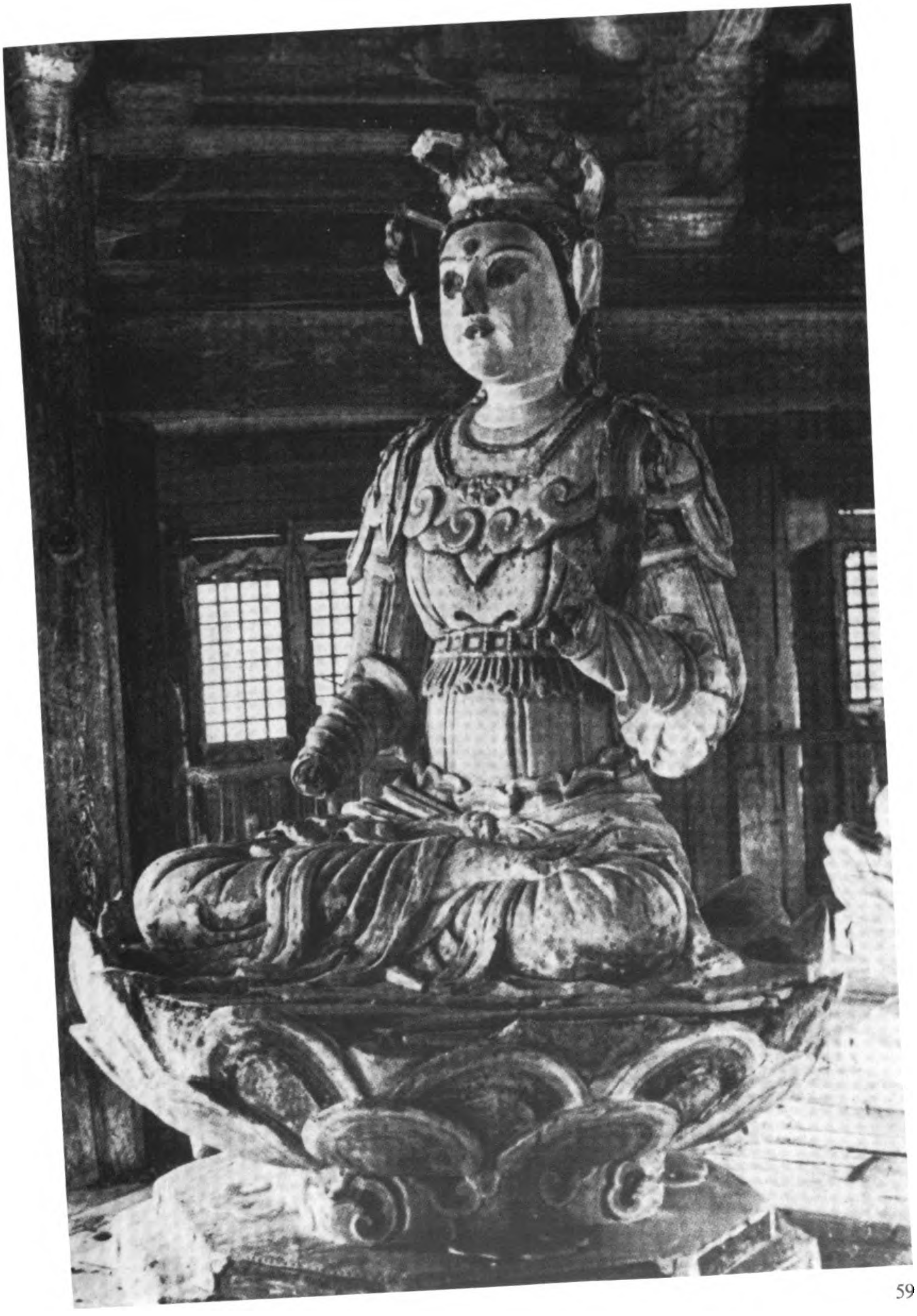

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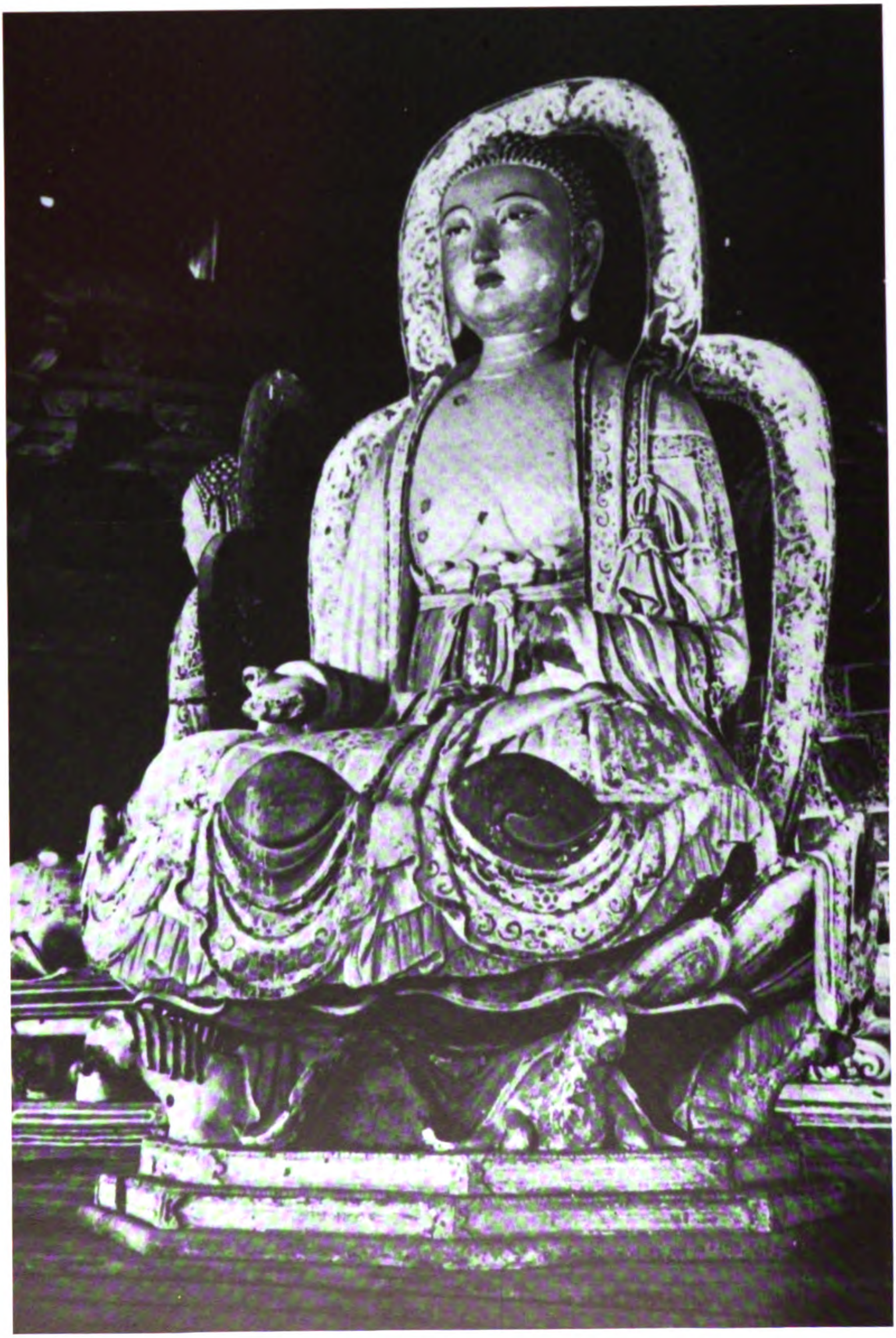

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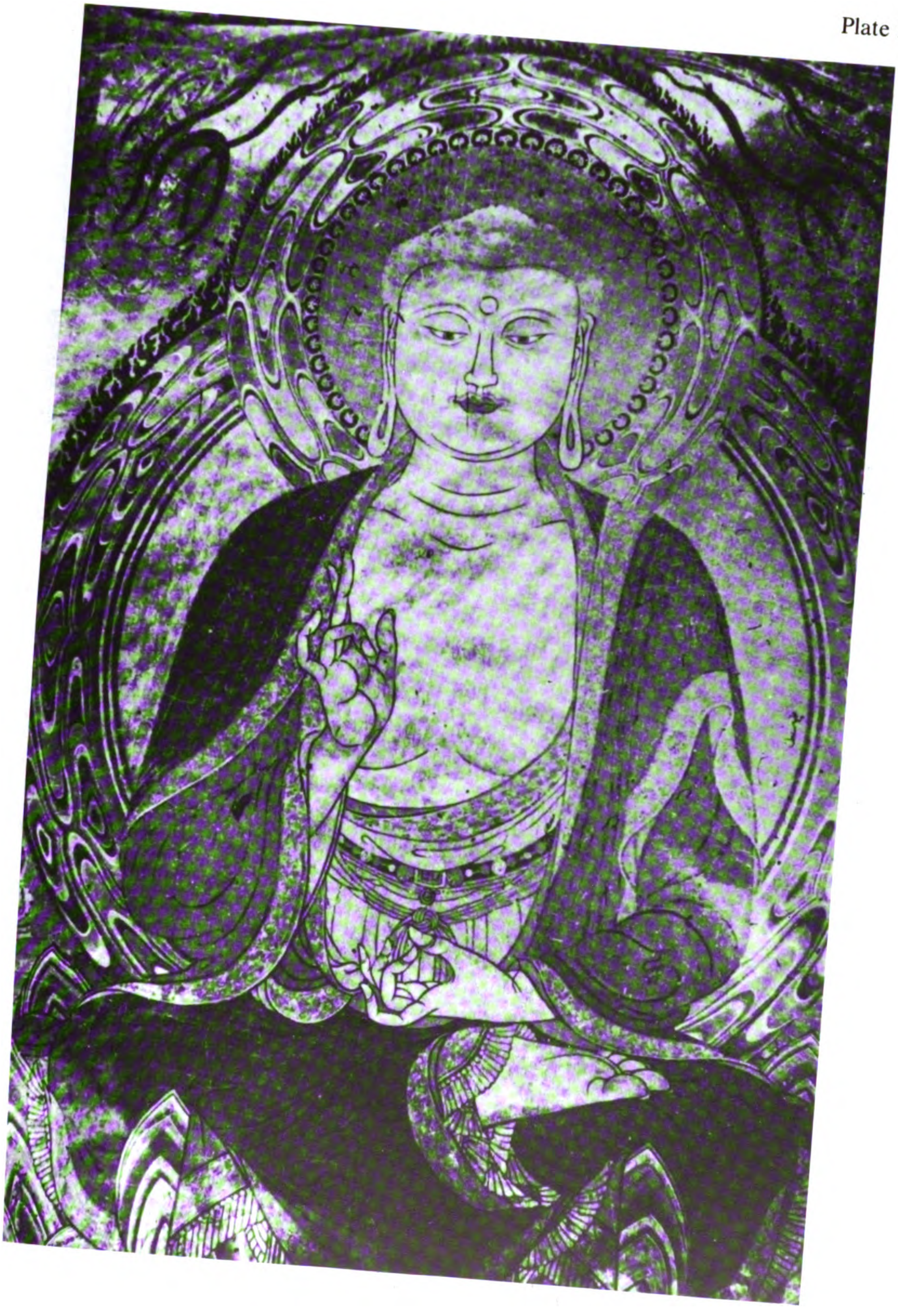

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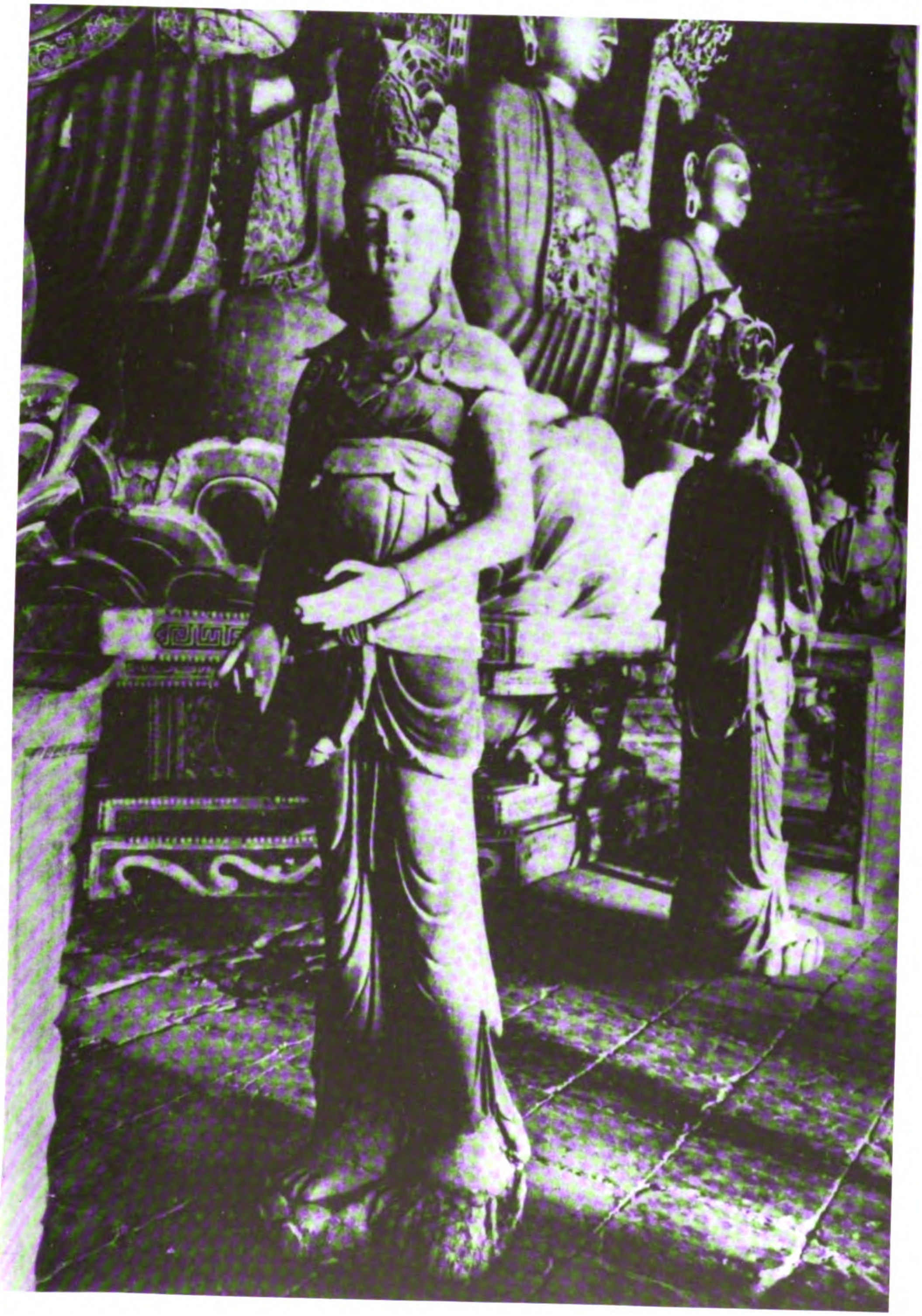

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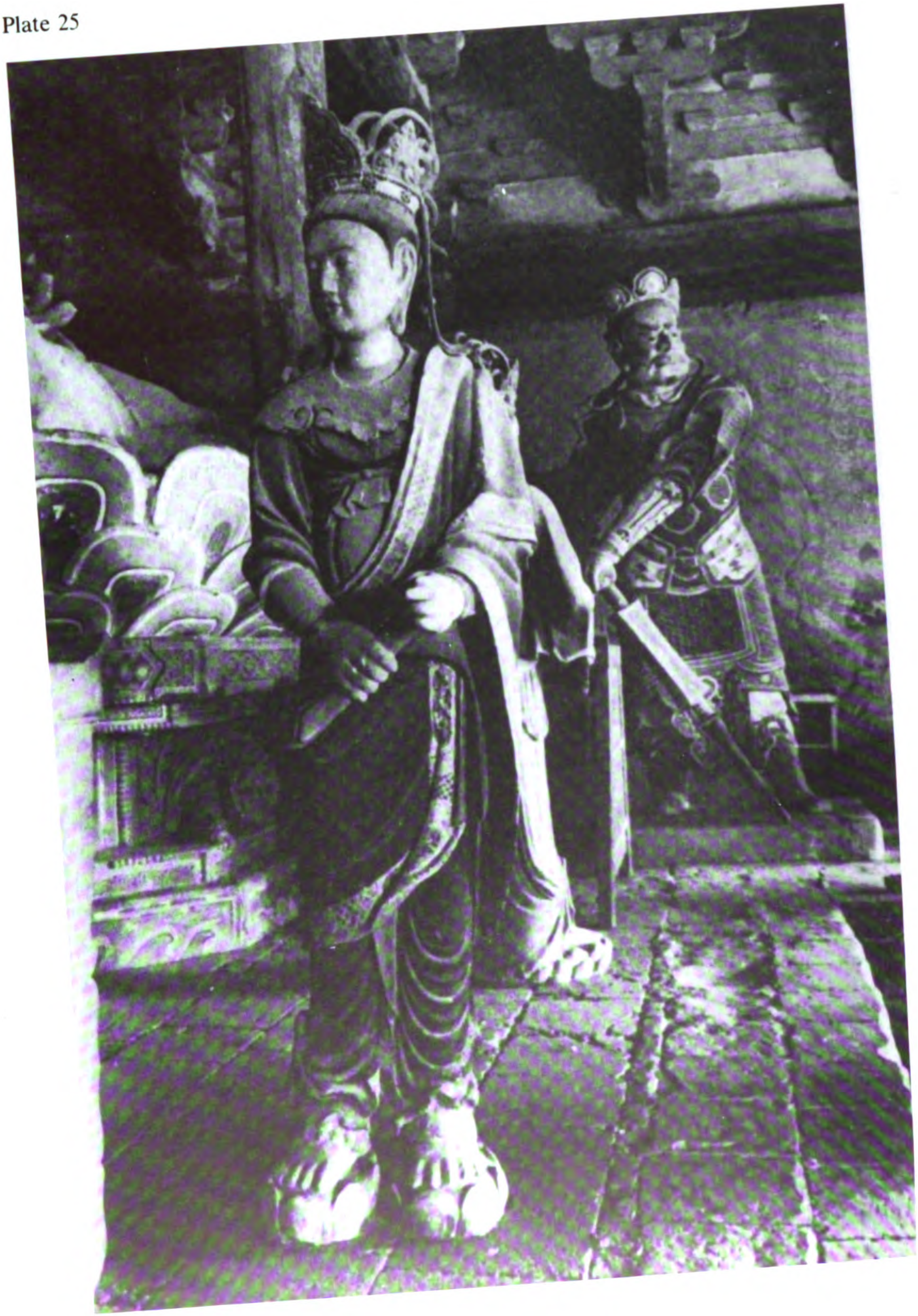

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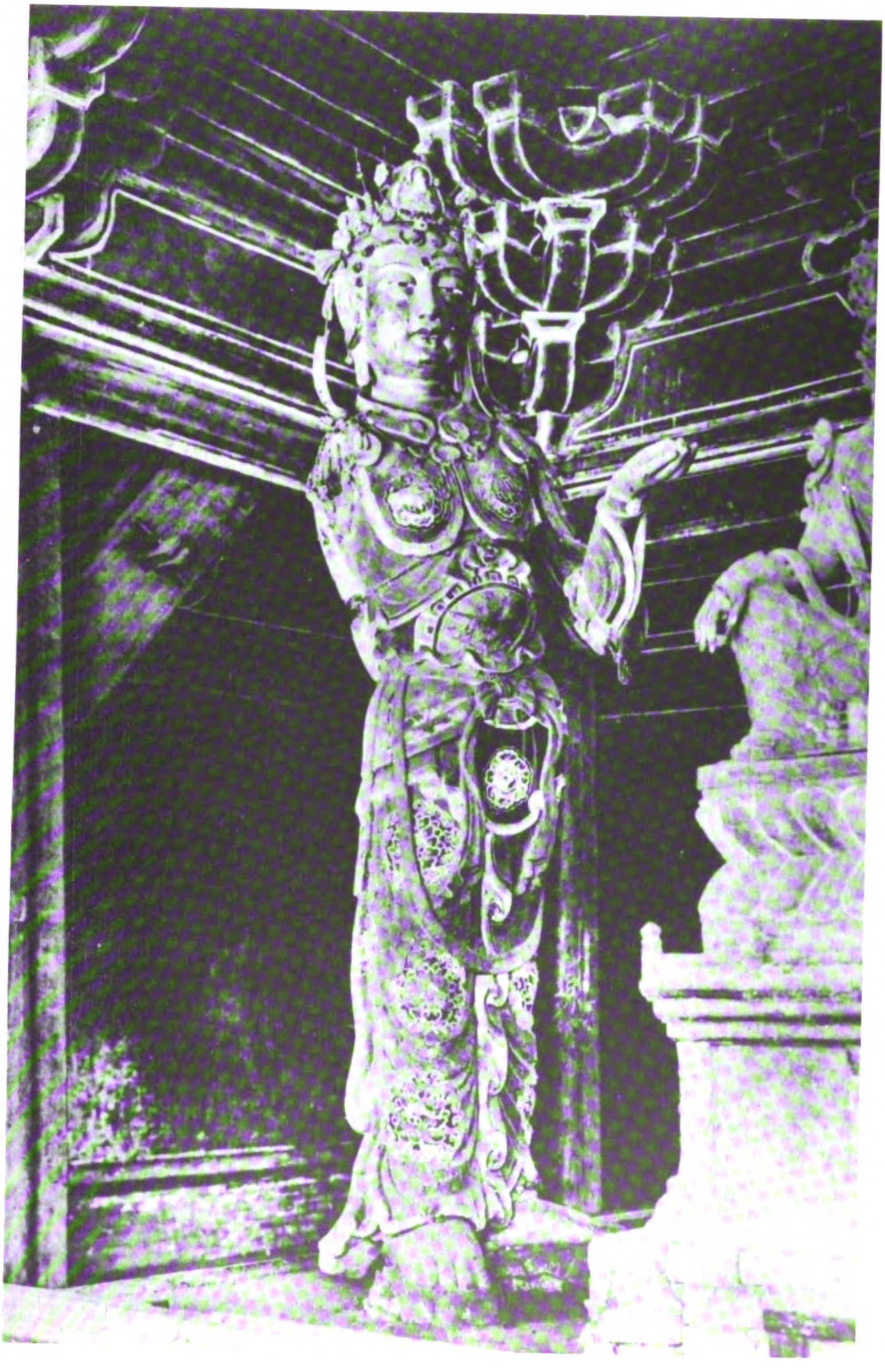

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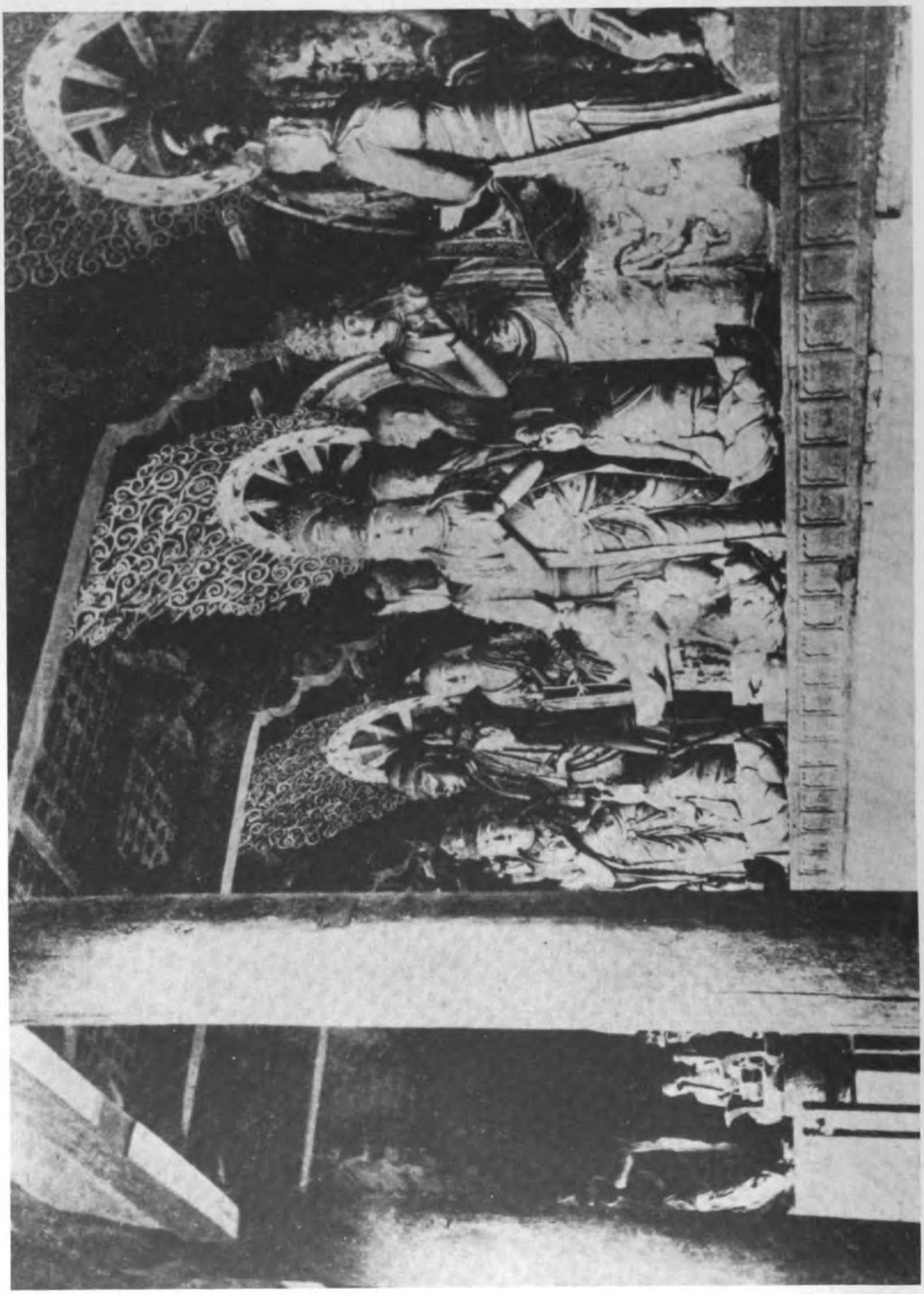

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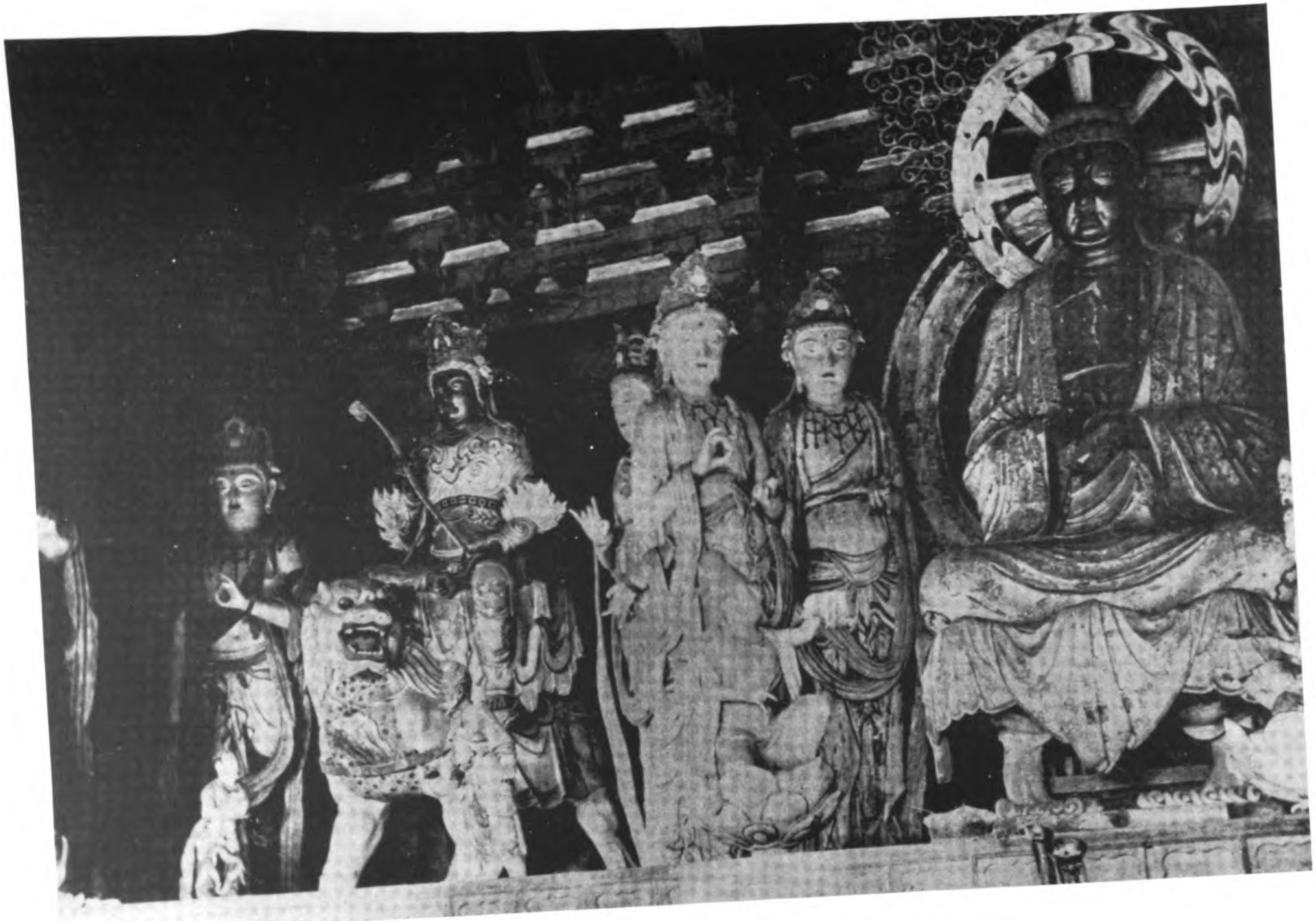

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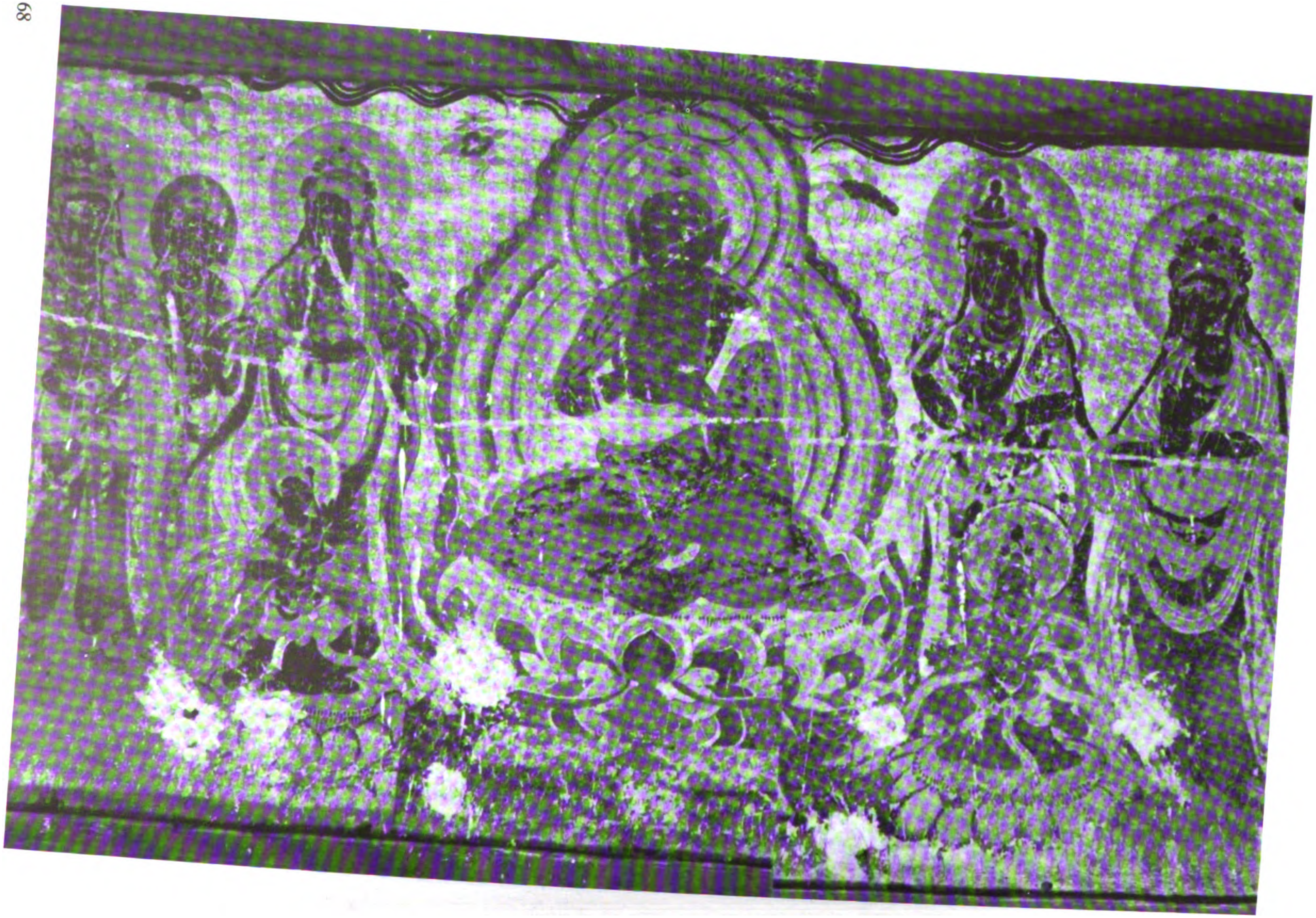

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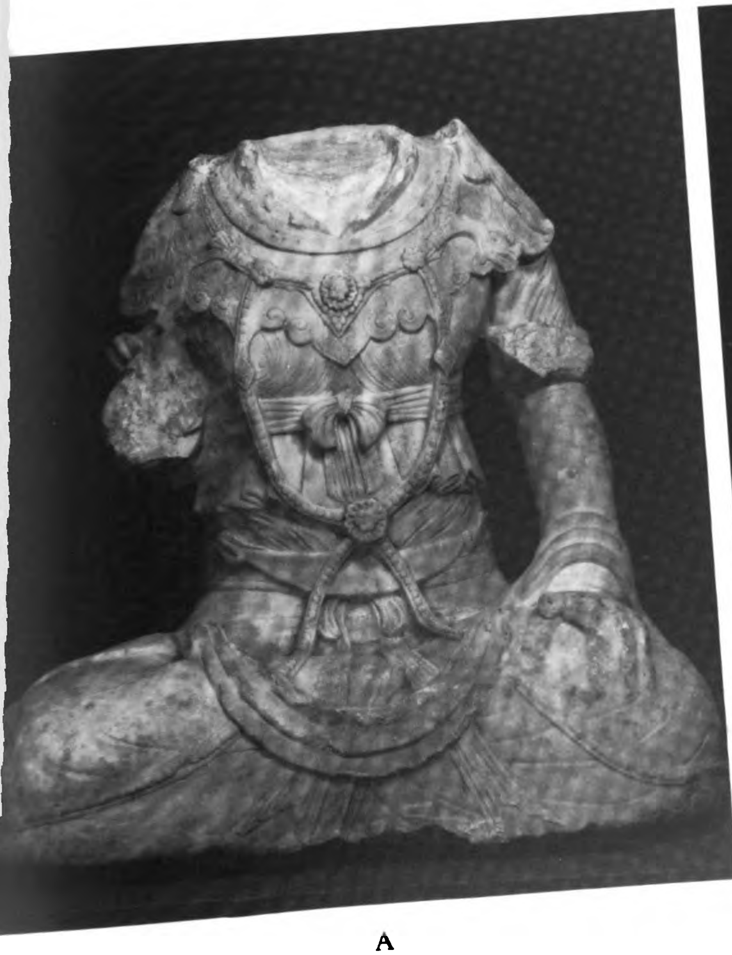

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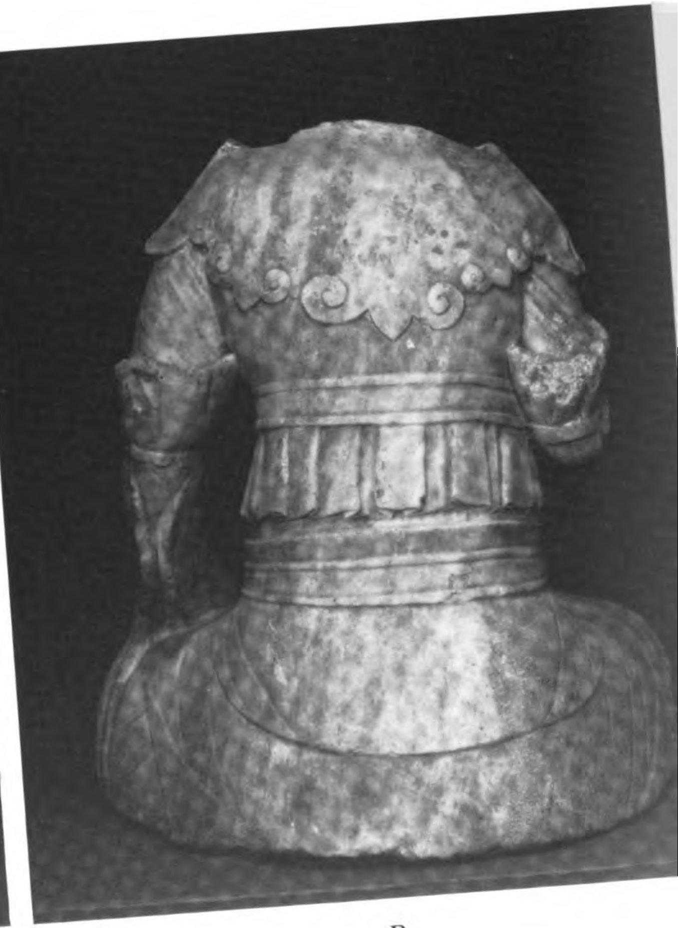

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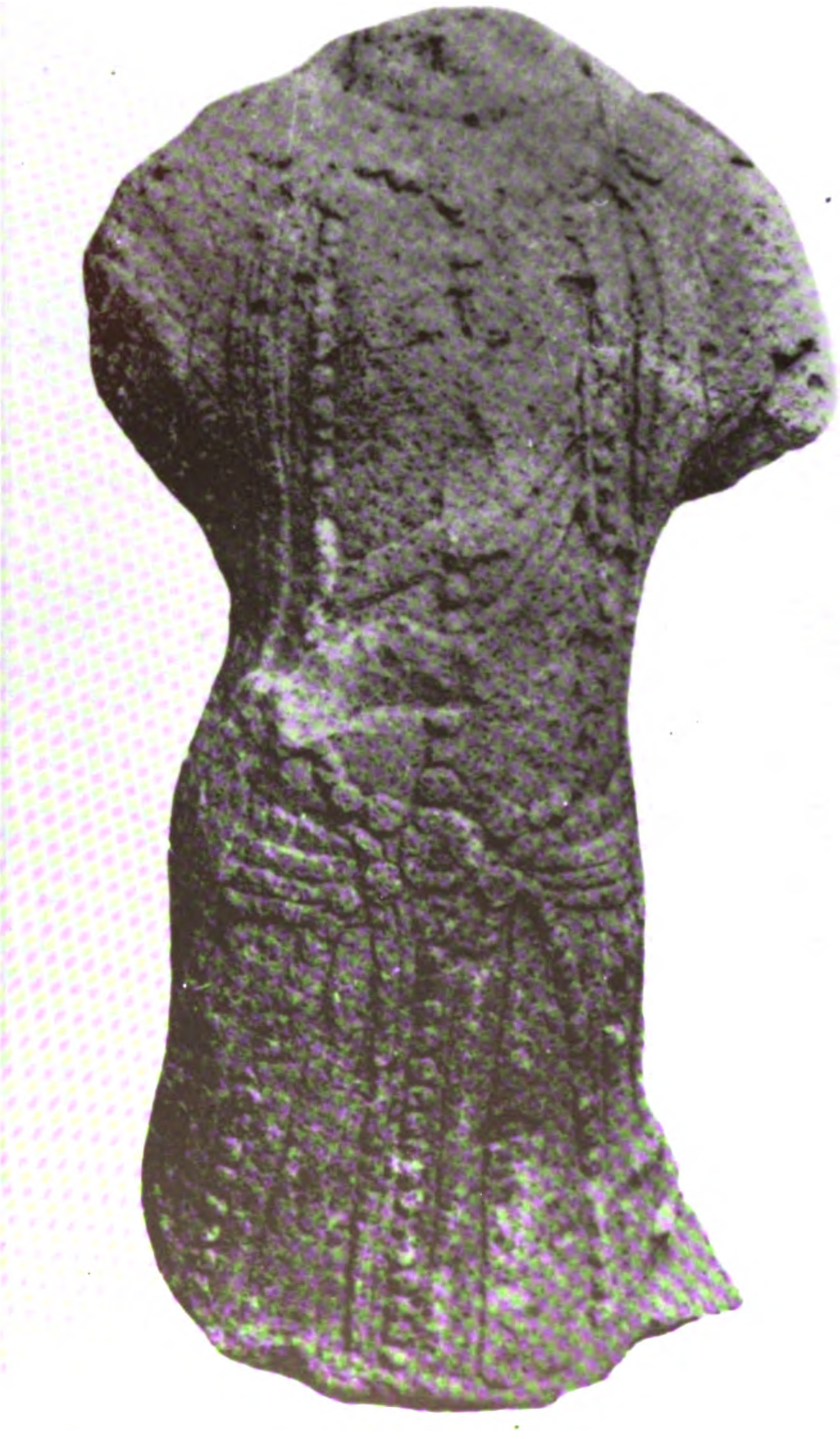

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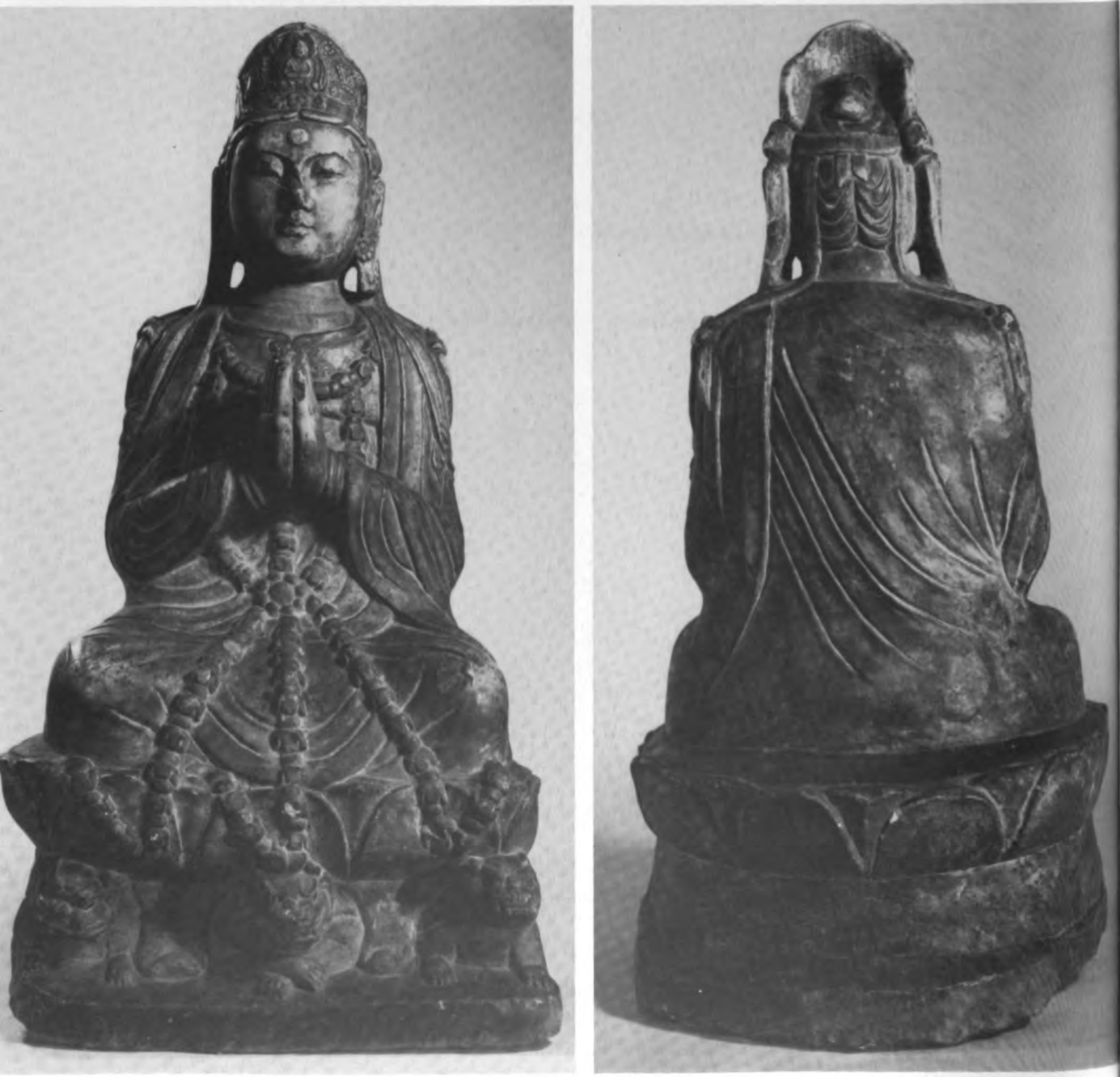

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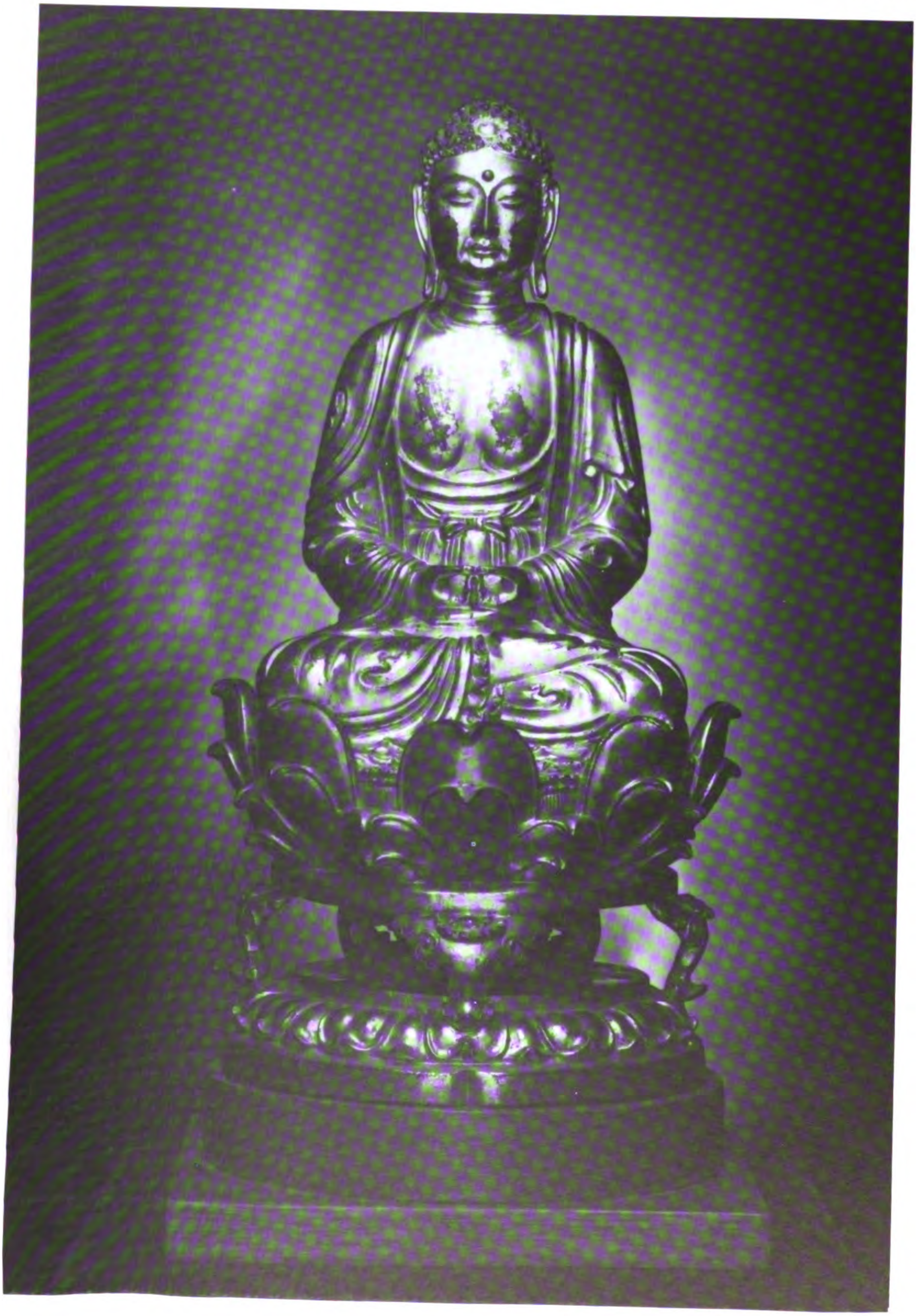

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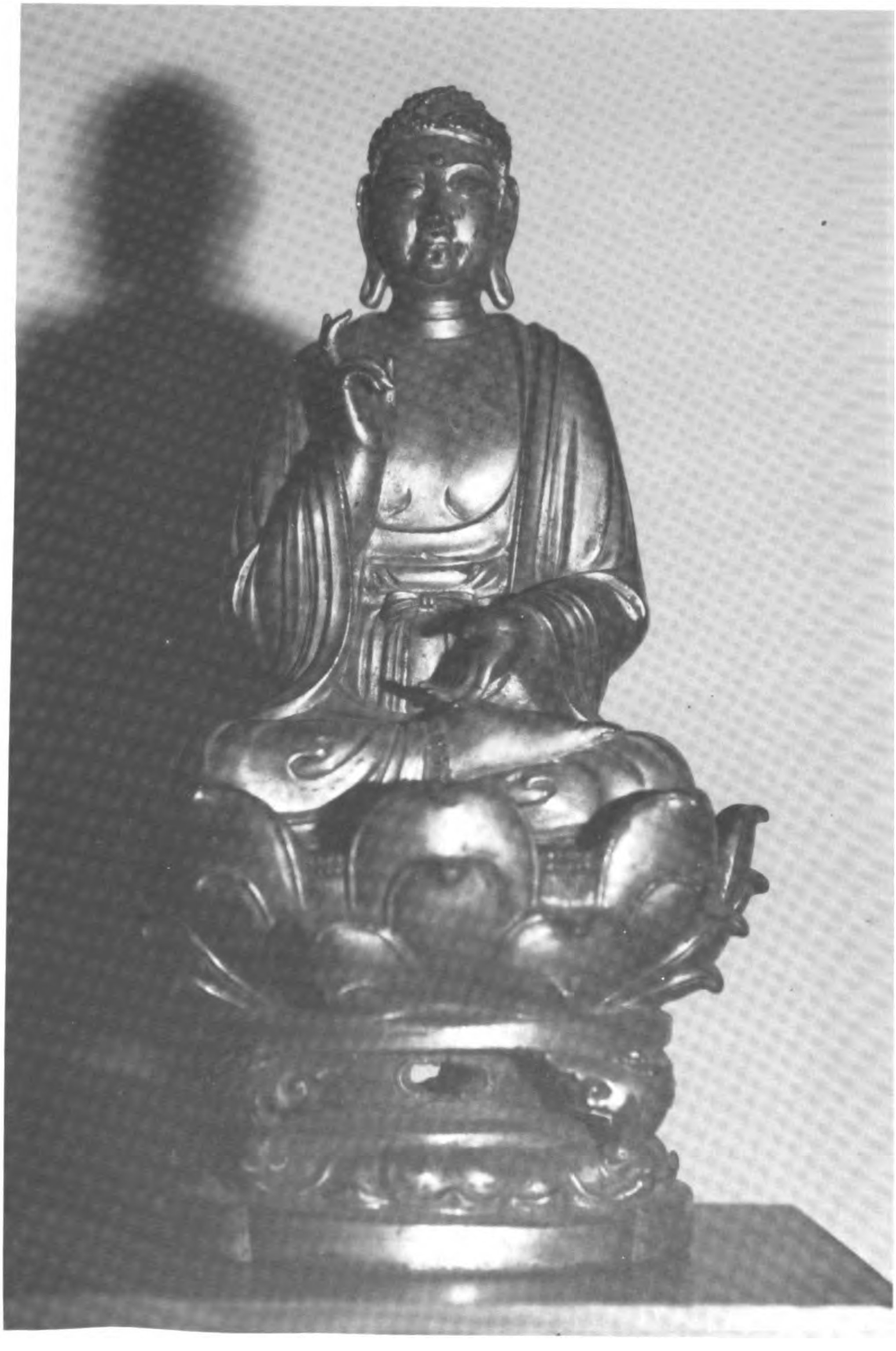

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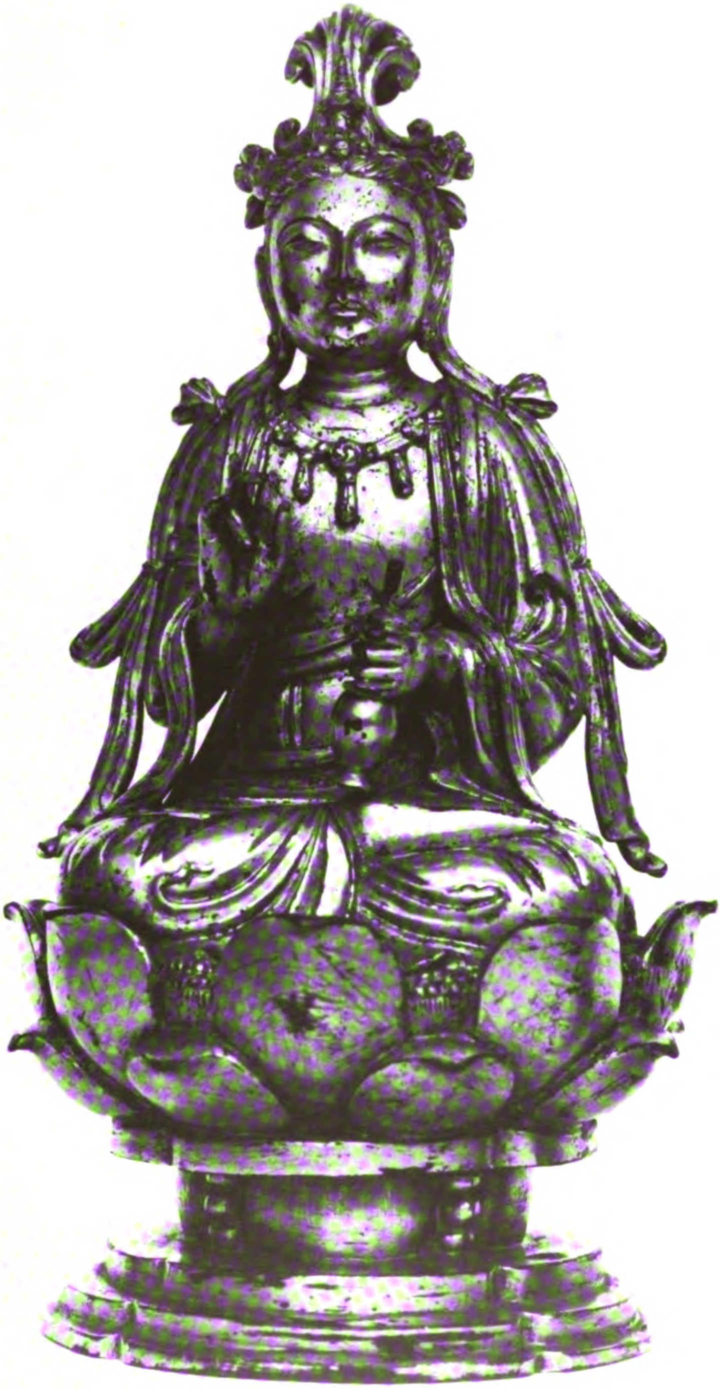

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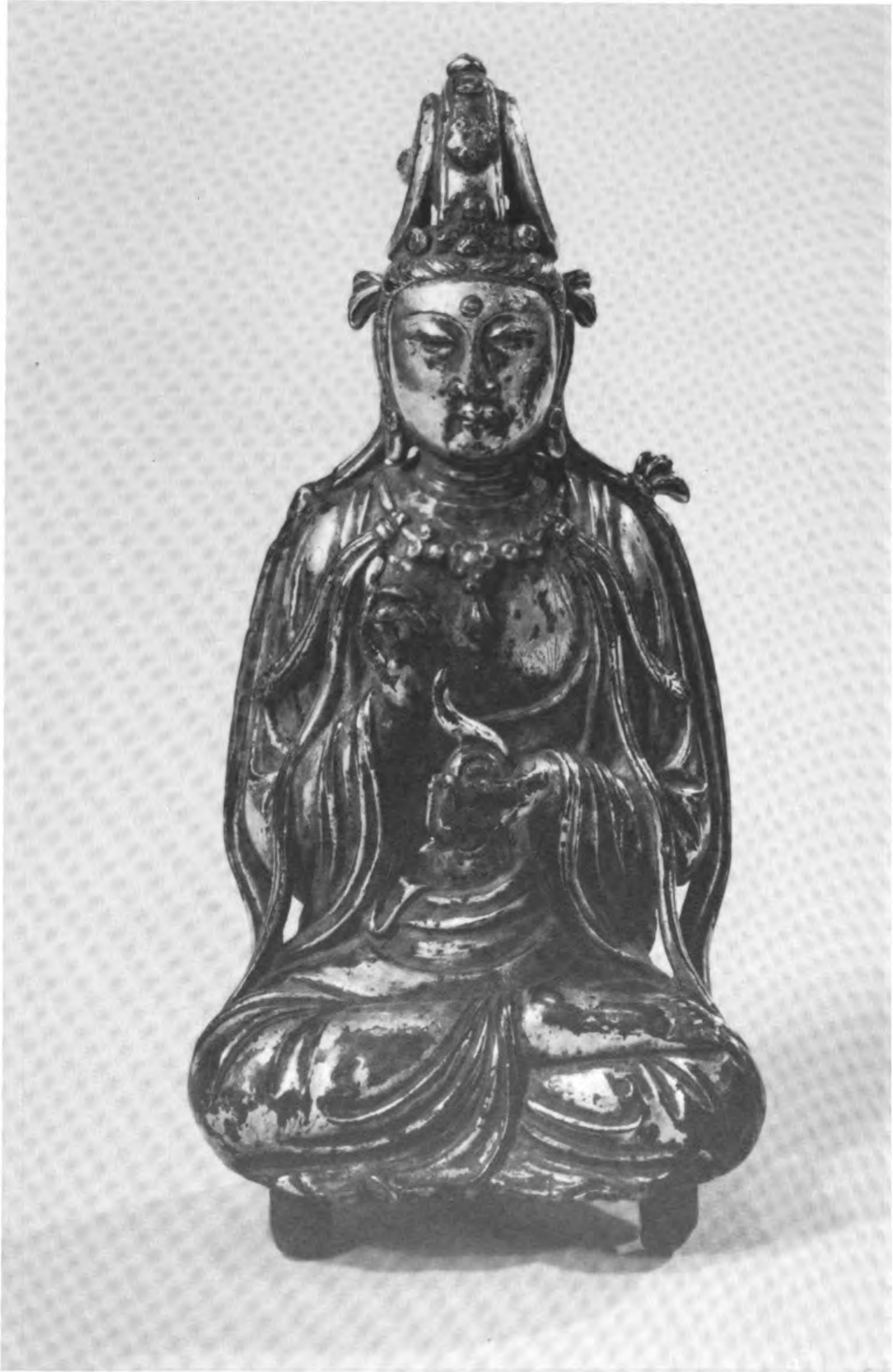

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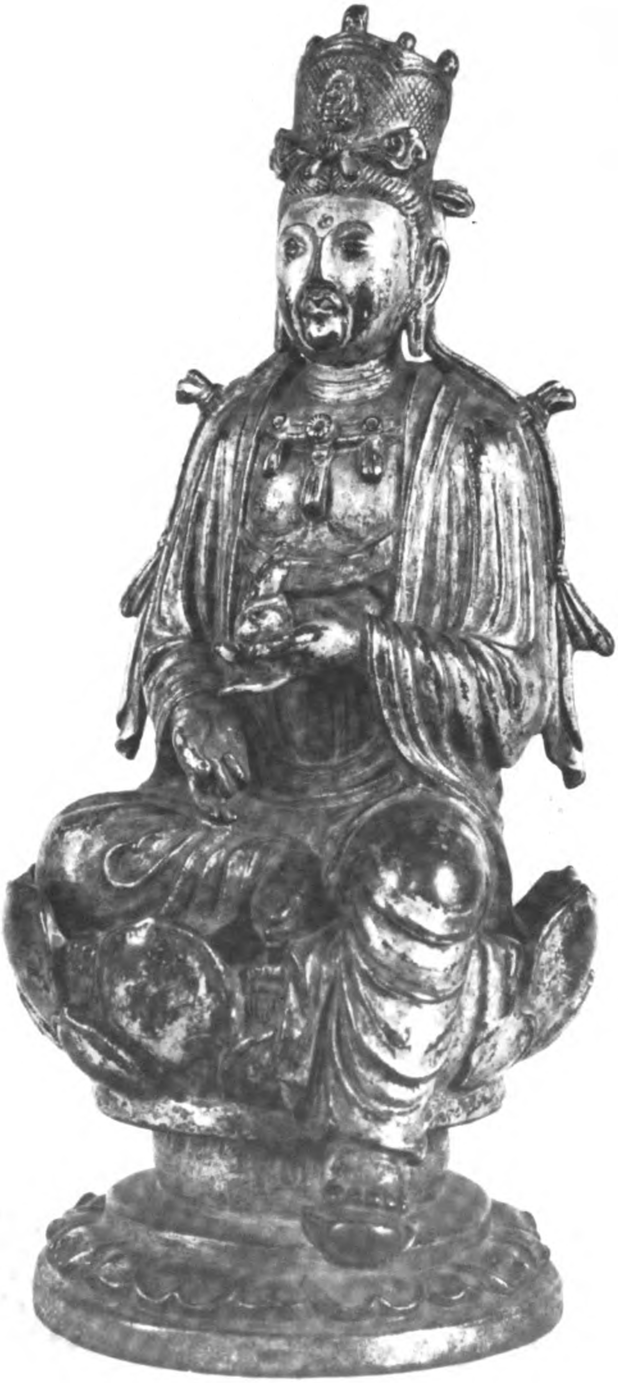

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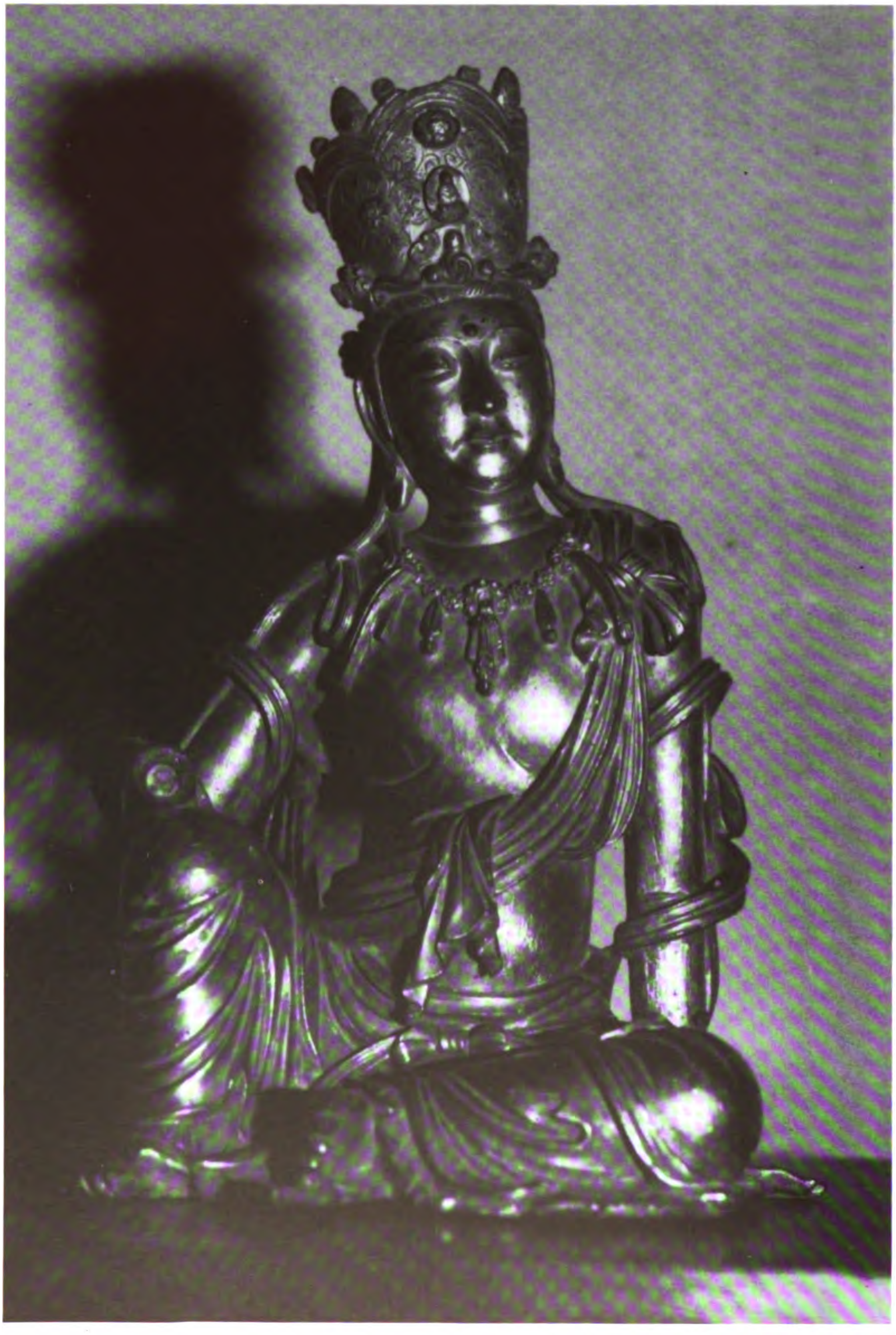

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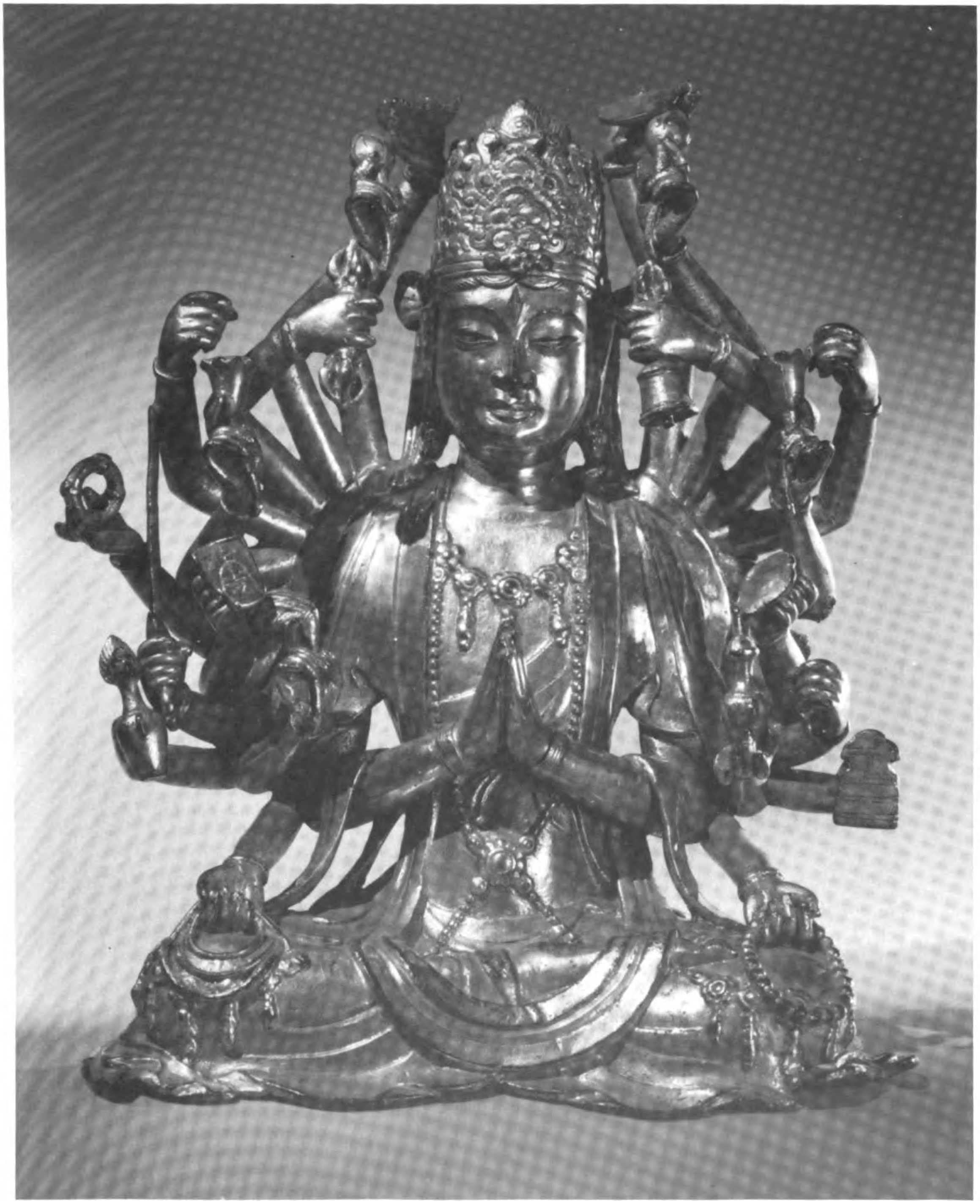

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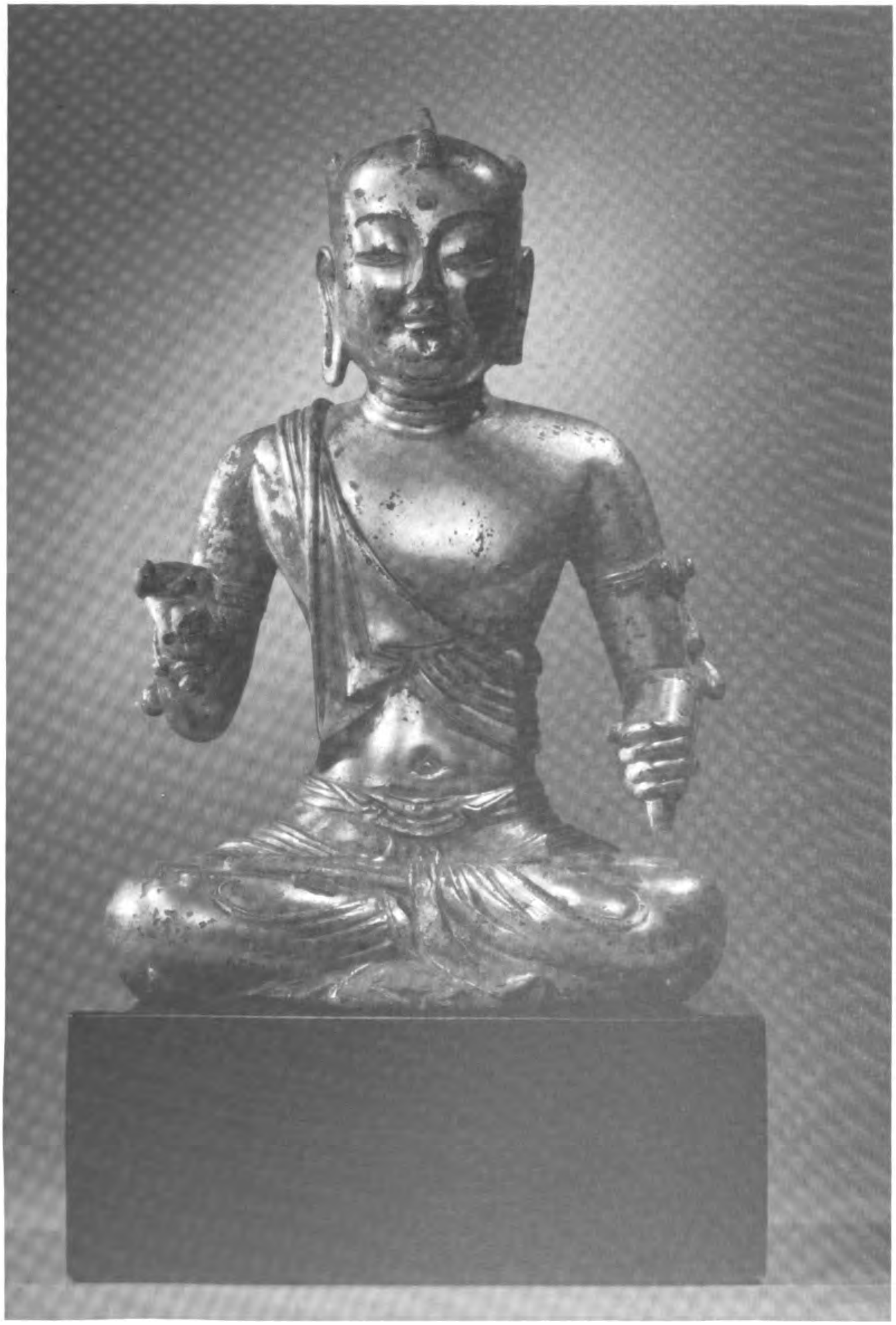

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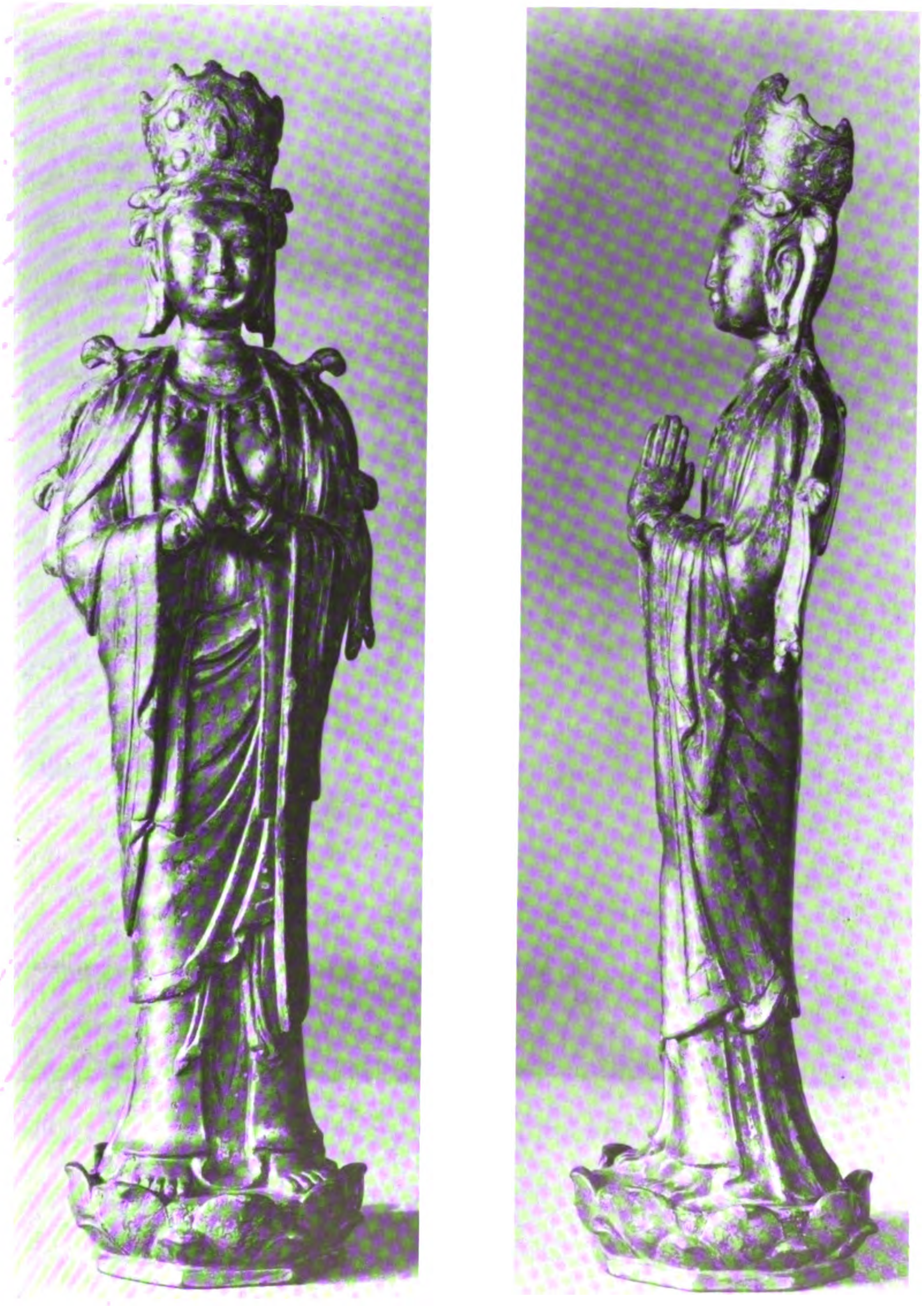

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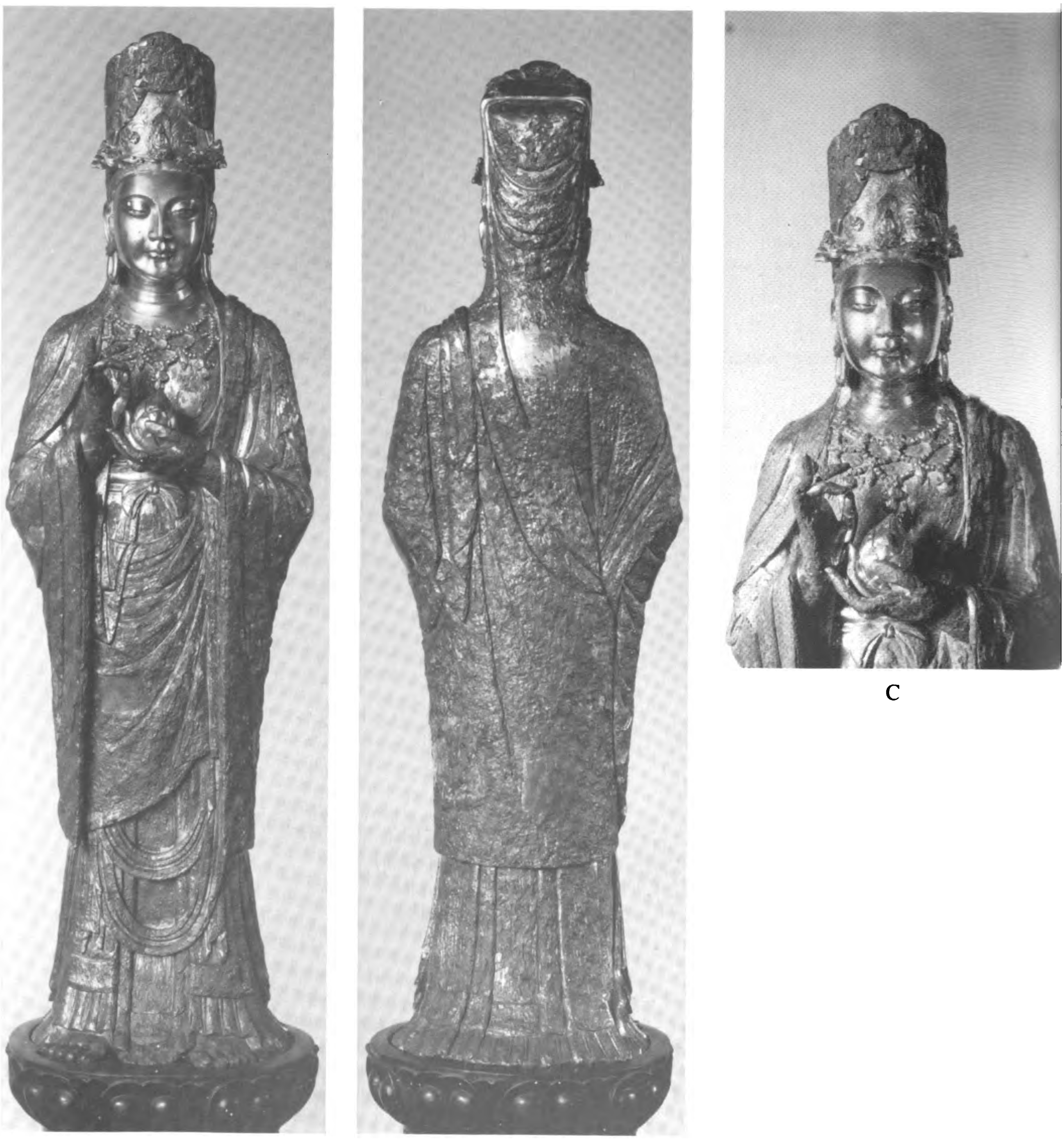

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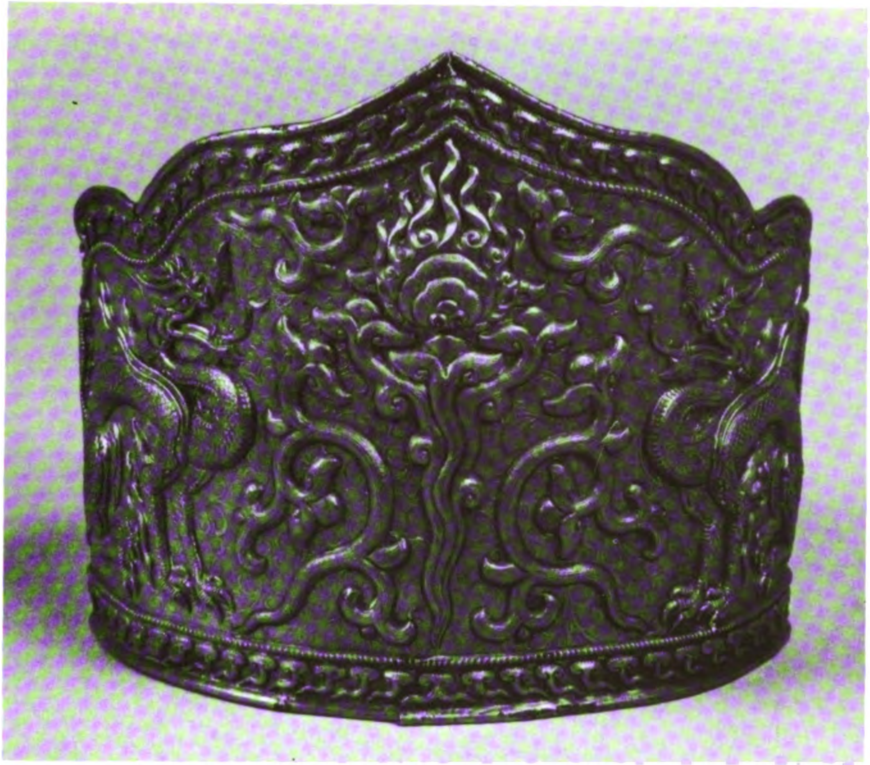

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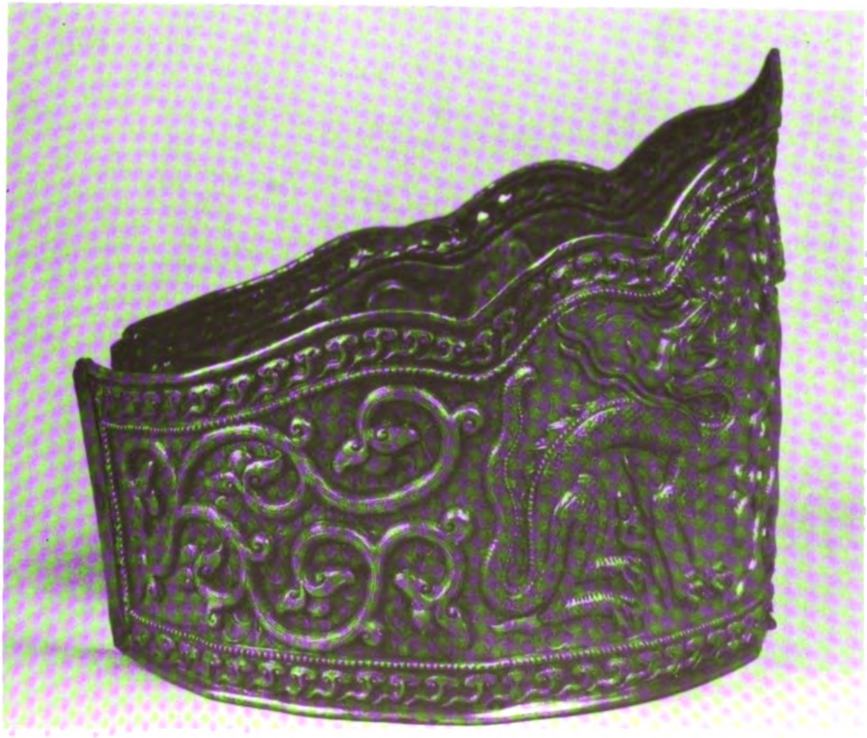

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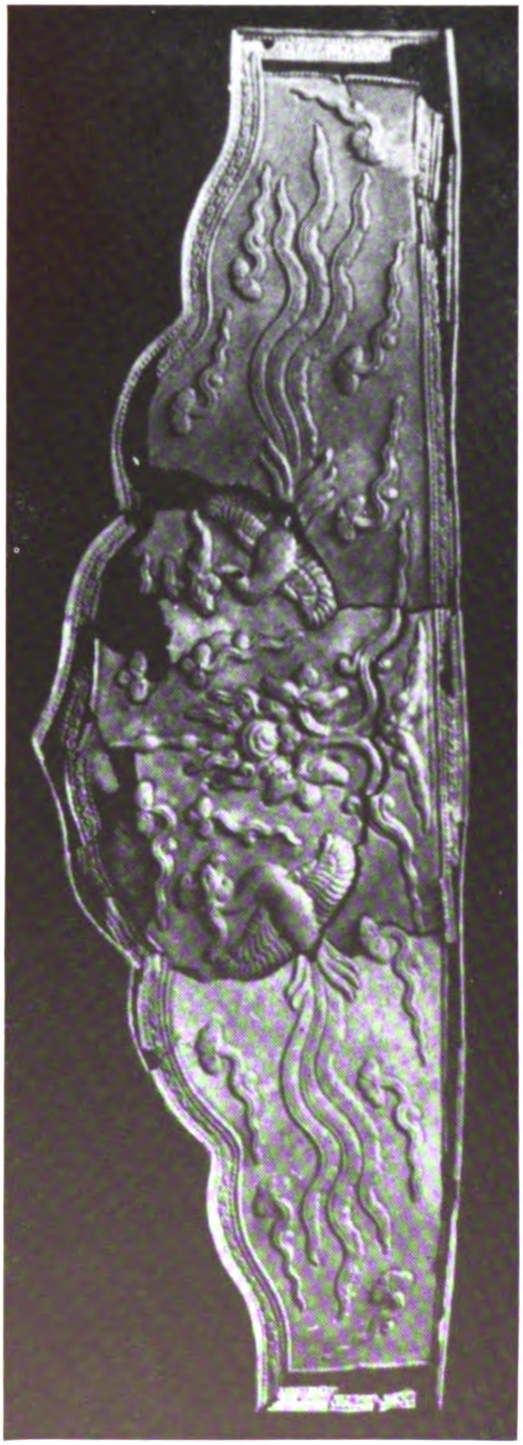

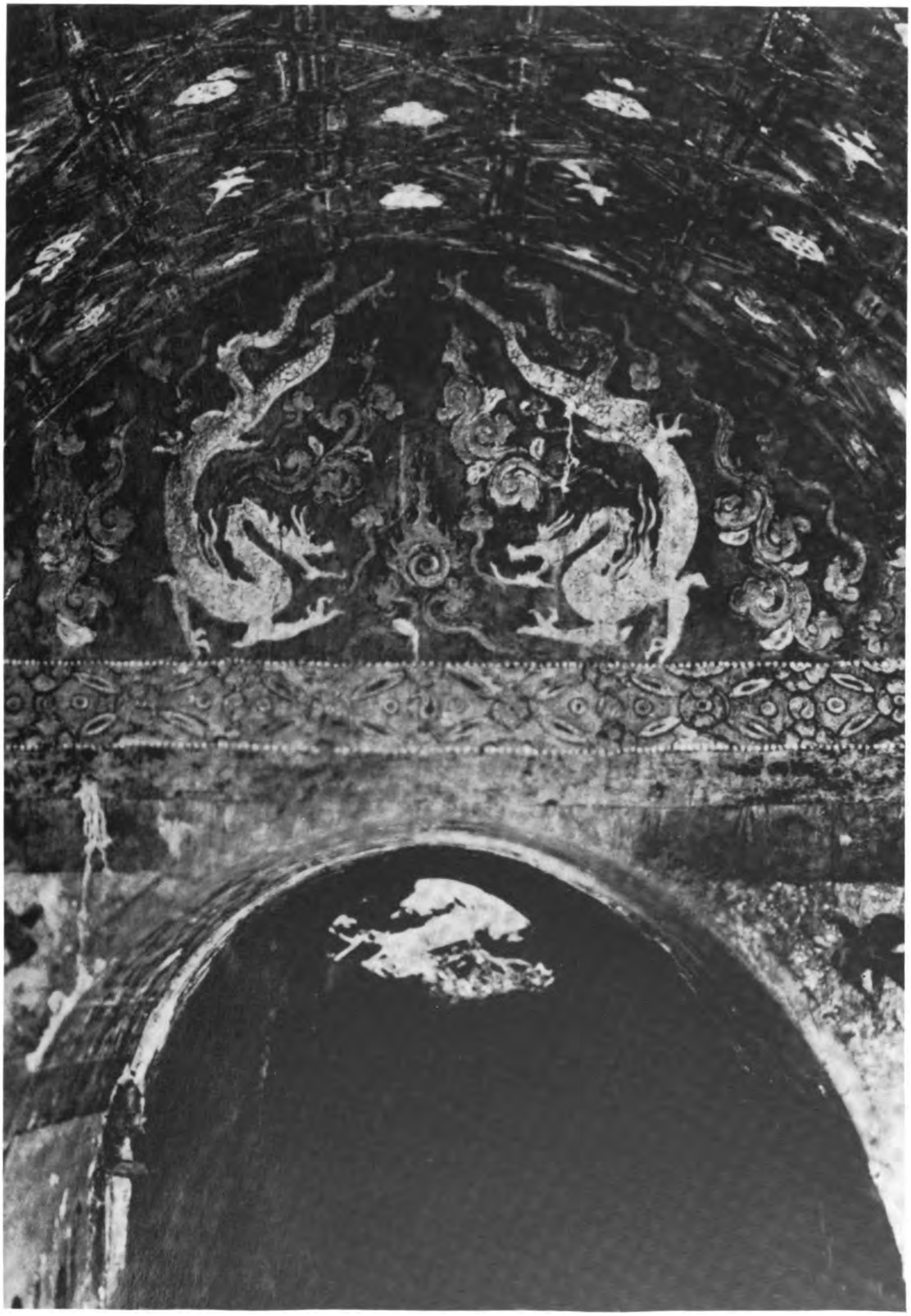

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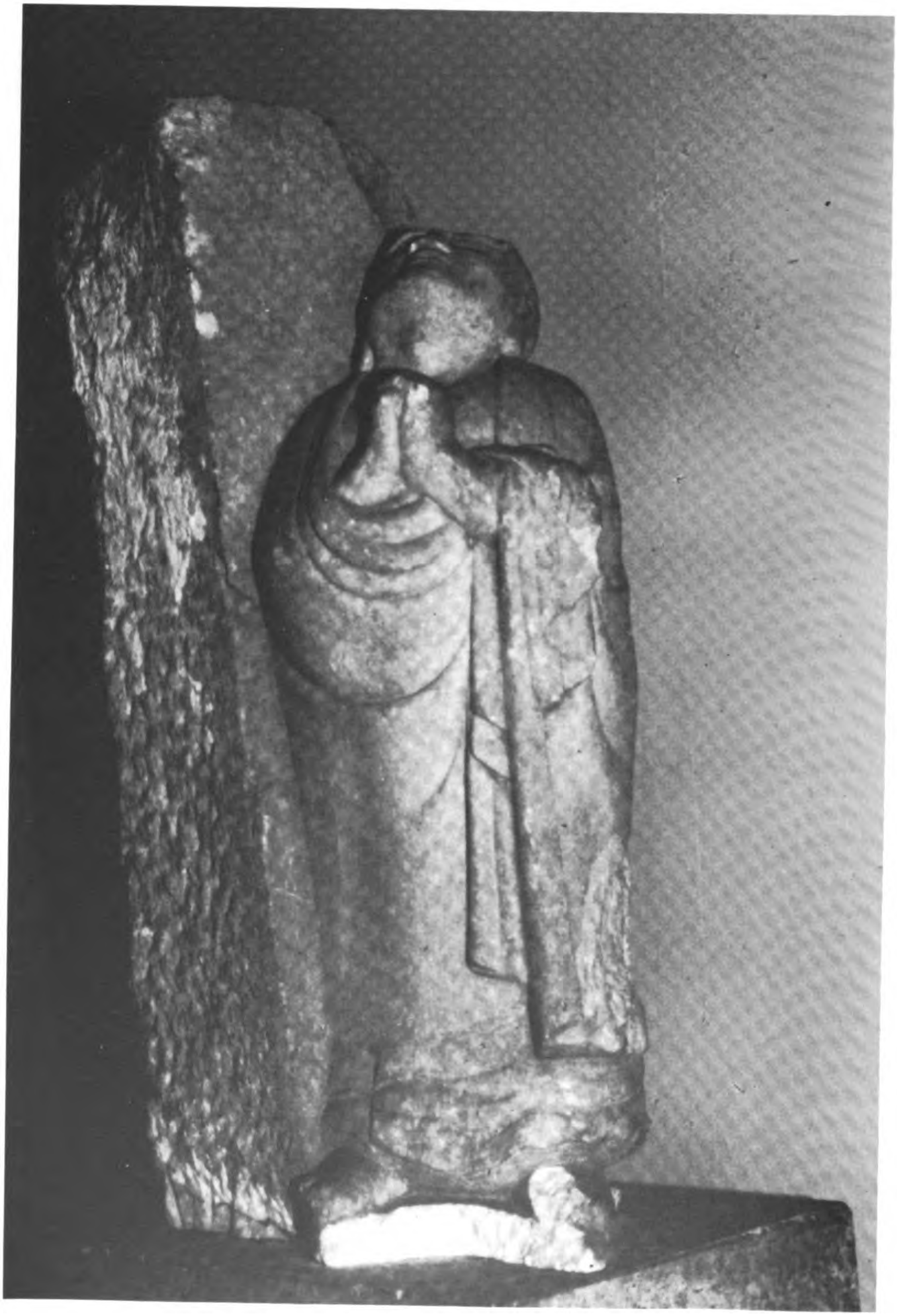

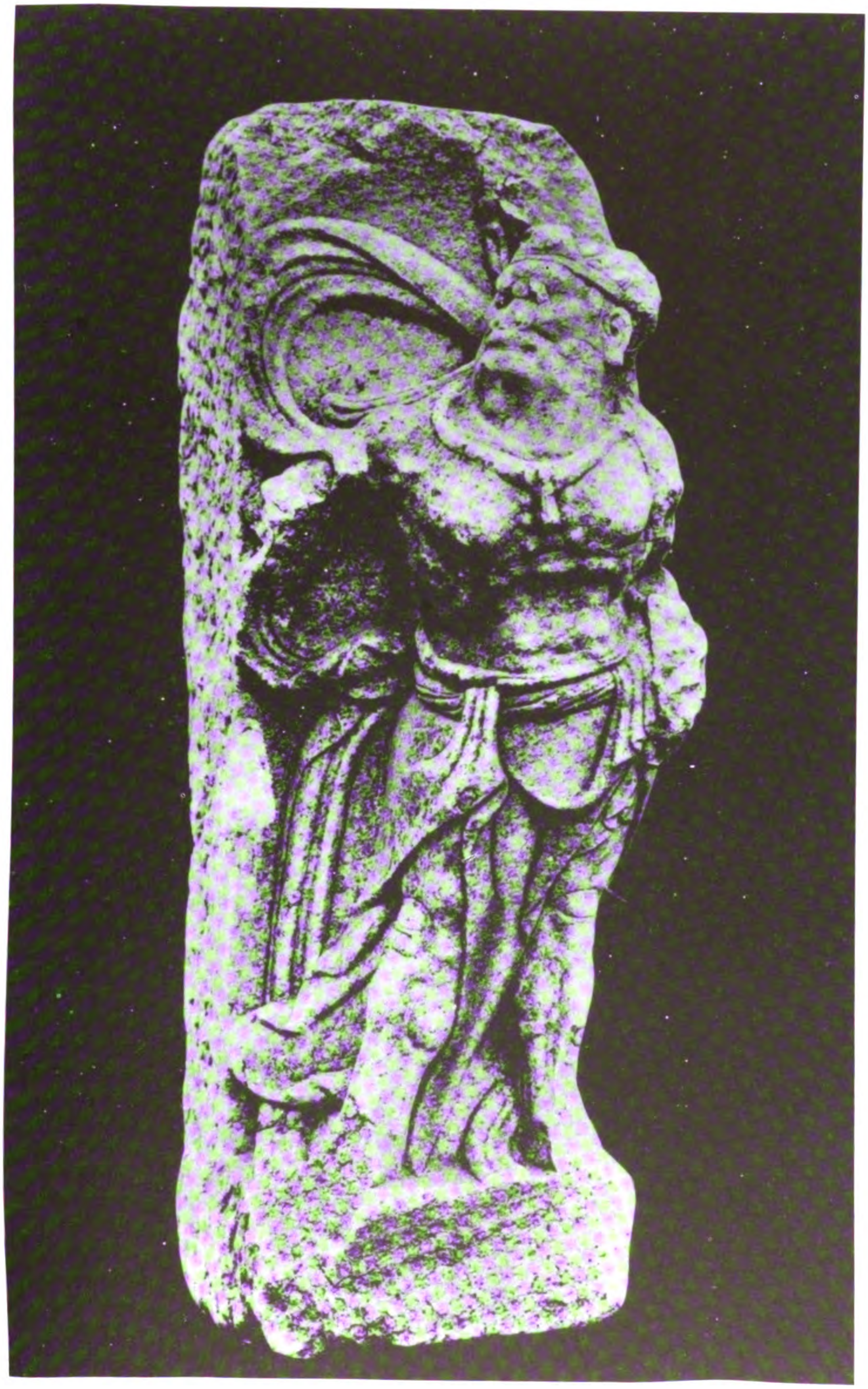

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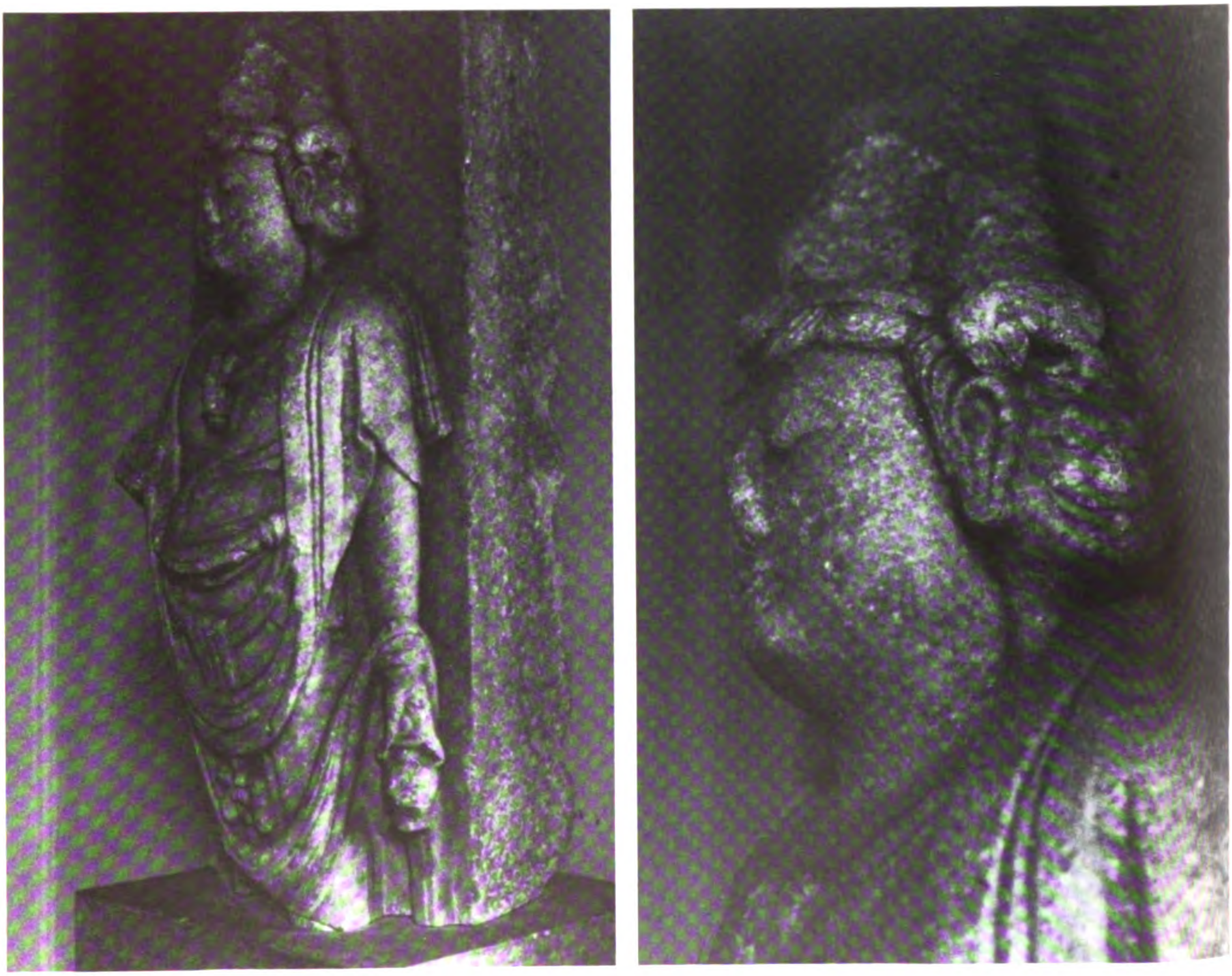

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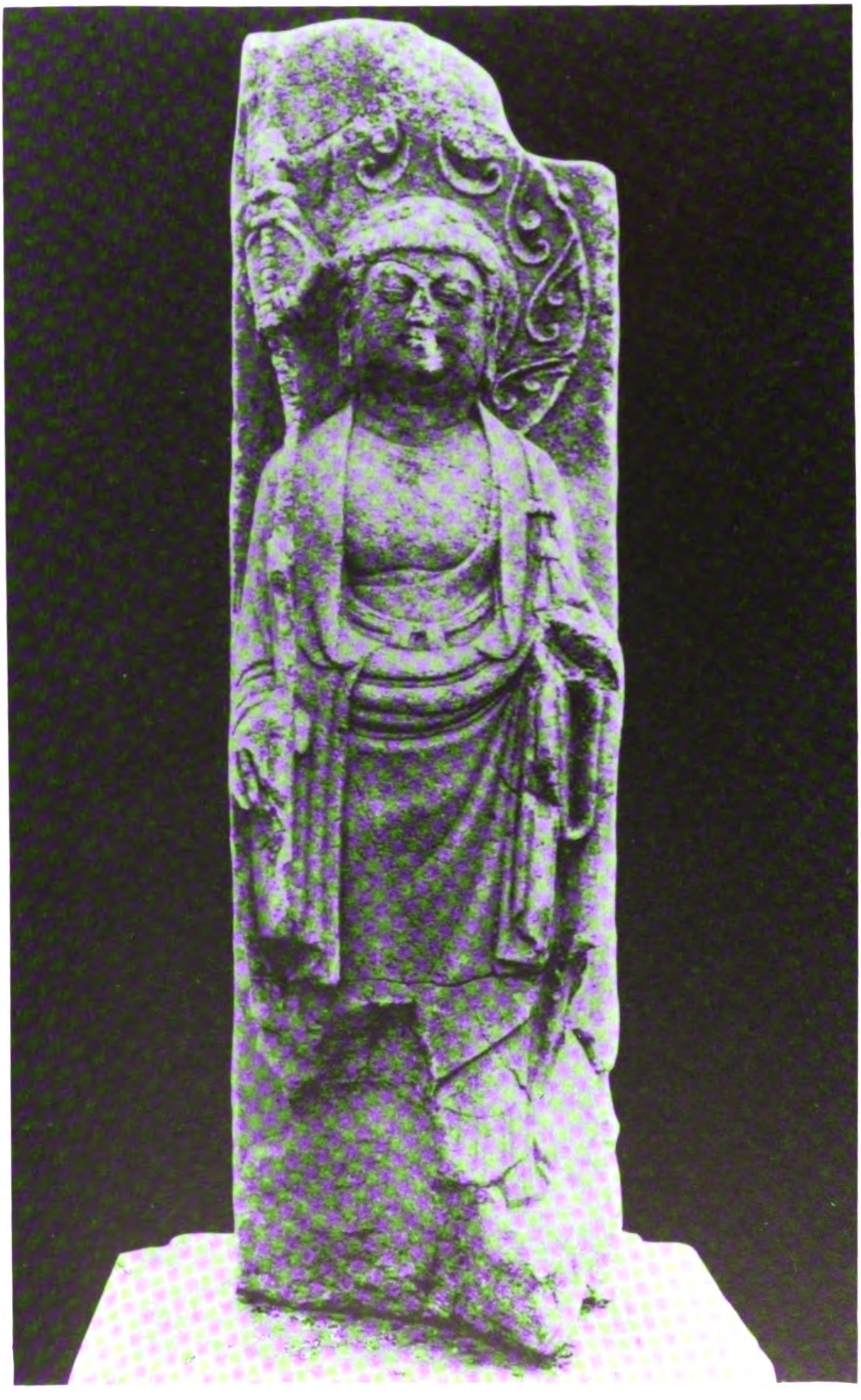

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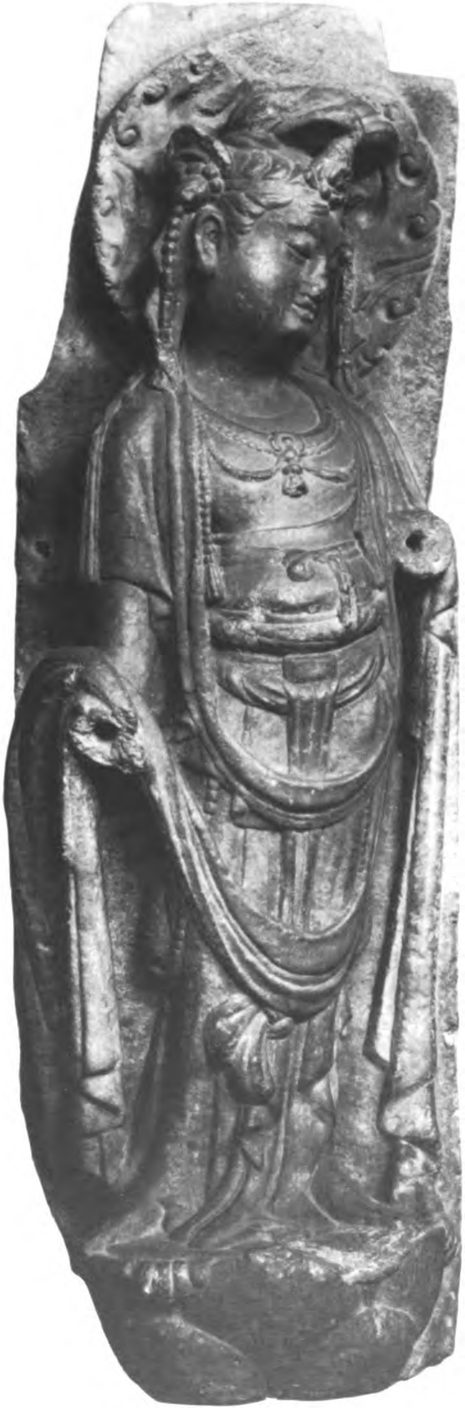

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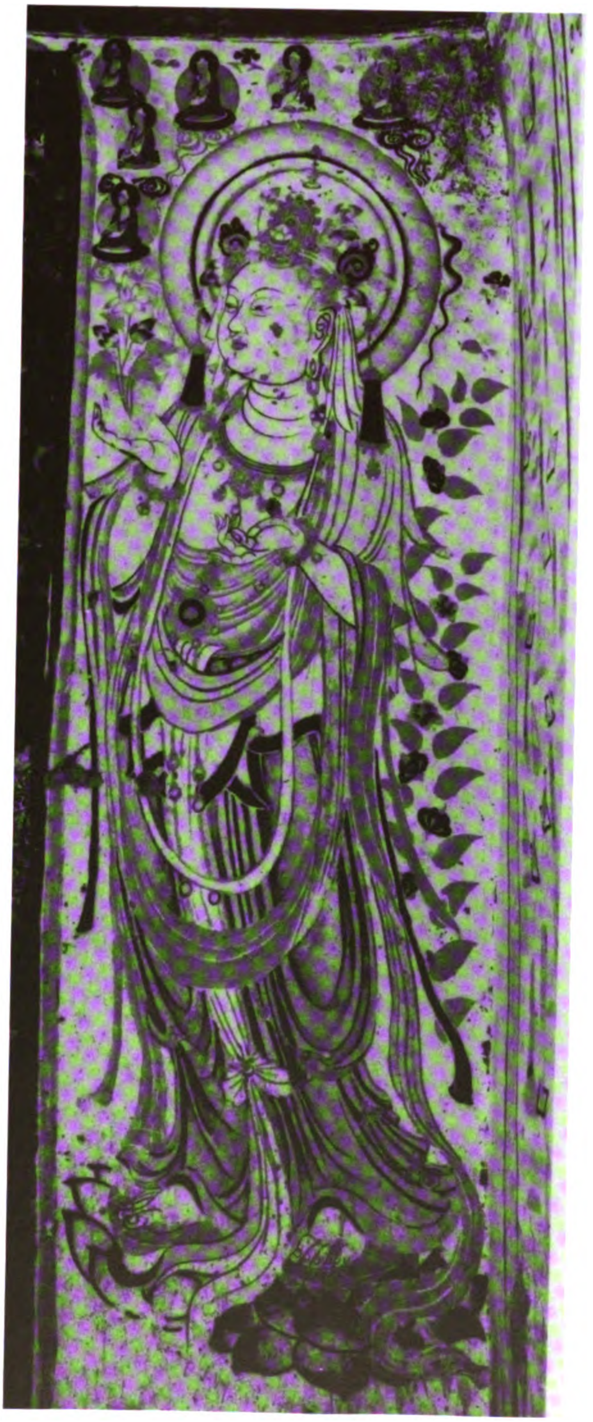

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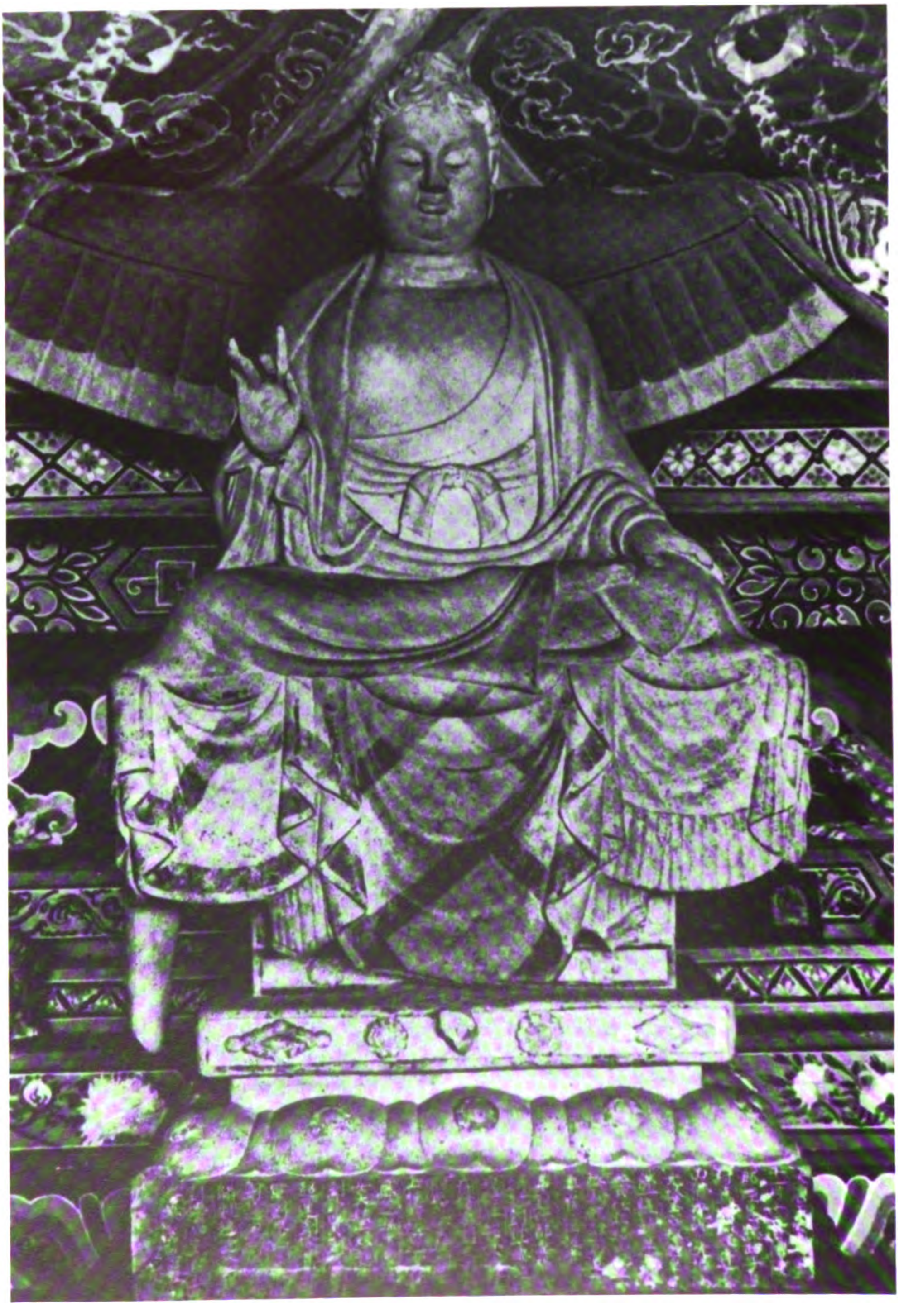

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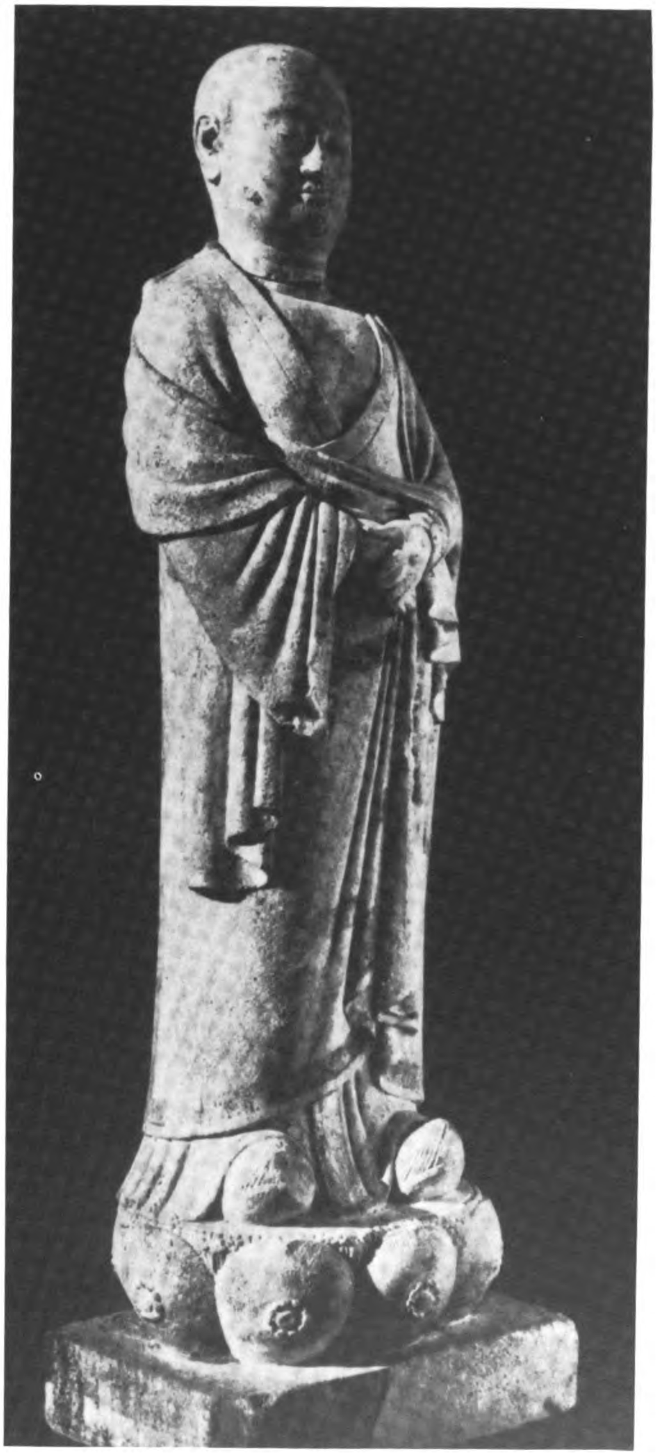

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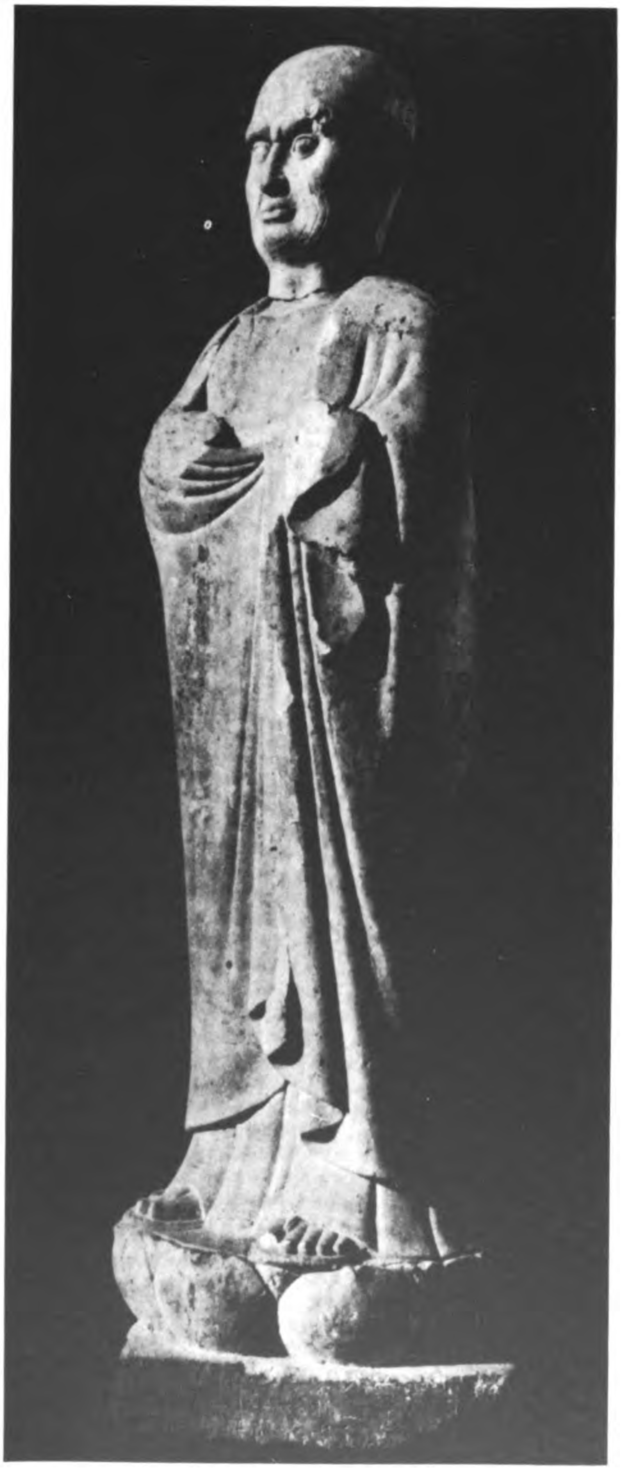
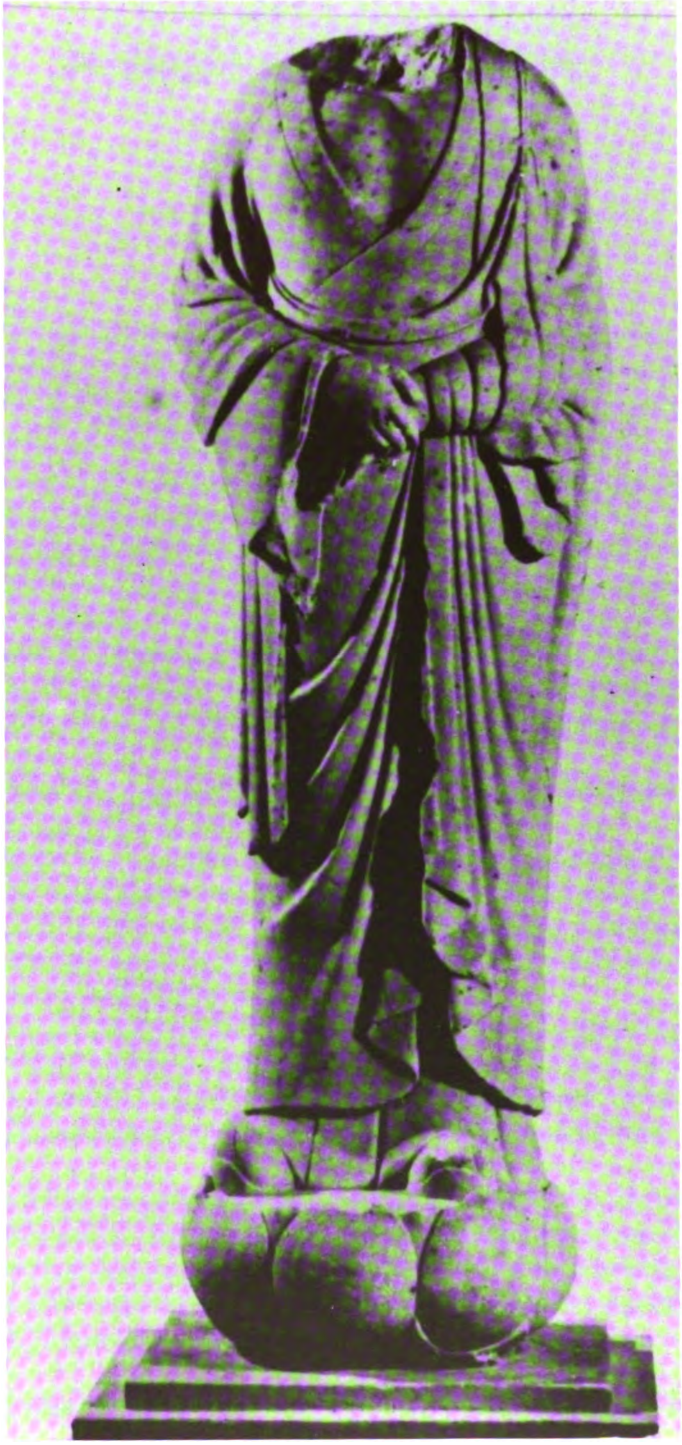




HAN PORTENTS AND PROGNOSTICATIONS

by

Hans Bielenstein

Building on the work of W.Eberhard[1] and H.H.Dubs,[2] I attempted to prove in 1950 that the memorializing of portents (in the unfortunate sense) in Han times was a form of indirect criticism against the ruler and the government.[3] My arguments were briefly as follows:

1. Phenomena which seemed unnatural, such as eclipses of the sun, comets, meteors, earthquakes, avalanches, floods, droughts, locusts, famines, epidemics, fires, the unseasonable behaviour of plants, monstrous births among people or animals etc., are listed as portents, i.e. warnings from Heaven, in the Imperial Annals and the Treatise on the Five Elements of *Han shu*.[4]
2. A graph for the recorded solar eclipses in relation to the observable ones per year of each reign of Former Han and a graph for all recorded portents other than solar eclipses are practically identical. Such a congruence must have an explanation.
3. Since the congruence cannot be caused by any power in nature, it must be due to manipulation by man.
4. The congruence was caused by the Han-Chinese practice of ignoring or memorializing "unnatural" phenomena. Whenever a memorial listed one or several "unnatural" phenomena, the purpose was indirect criticism of the ruler and the government. Such criticism was relatively safe, as it was supposed to emanate from Heaven rather than the writer.
5. Once "unnatural" phenomena had been memorialized, they became, in the institutional sense, portents and were later recorded as such in *HS* in either the Imperial Annals or in the Treatise on the Five Elements, or in both. Those which were not memorialized did not become portents and were not listed in *HS.*
6. The critcism did not come from the people, as believed by Dubs,[5] nor from the dynastic historian, as claimed by Eberhard,[6] but from the officials.
7. A graph for the average number of different recorded portents per year of reign will reveal the consecutive volume of indirect criticism against the rulers, i.e. of official discontent, throughout the dynasty.

Eberhard returned in 1957 to the subject of portents in his "The Political

Function of Astronomy and Astronomers in Han China".[7] I find myself in both agreement and disagreement with that study. To begin with, Eberhard has shifted ground on who the critics were. He admits that portents could be used as a political tool by one faction at the court against another,[8] i.e. that officials did in fact memorialize portents for purposes of their own. But he also reiterates that a large number of portents was fabricated by the dynastic historian in order to criticize specific events.[9] I believe that Eberhard is here mislead by his continued adherence to the theory of hidden praise and blame in early Chinese historical writing. As he says: "It is the merit of O.Franke[10] to have adduced proof for the old Chinese opinion that the *Ch'un-ch'iu,* as well as later official dynastic histories, by the use of a special terminology and by the insertion of certain, seemingly unimportant reports, became 'mirrors', guides for political behavior, based upon a system of ethics. It is O.Franke's theory which has been the starting point for this entire discussion."[11] That view, I think, can no longer be maintained. In spite of old Chinese opinion, the *Ch'un-ch'iu* has no hidden message.[12] Neither did the dynastic historian give subtle personal judgment by inserting portents into his text.[13]

Eberhard's ambivalence may also stem from his assumption that the recorded portents for Former Han do not belong to a common statistical universe, but that several independent lists of portents existed which were compiled by different central and provincial offices or were excerpted from memorials. He concludes from this that the portents recorded in the Imperial Annals (chüan 1–12), the Treatise on the Five Elements (chüan 27), and the Treatise on Astrology (chüan 26) of *HS,* and in the Imperial Annals (chüan 8–12) of the *Shih chi*[14] all come from different lists, and he proceeds to draw and interpret separate graphs for each of them.[15] I cannot agree. The recorded portents under discussion of Former as well as Later Han times belong to a common statistical universe and must therefore be studied in the aggregate.

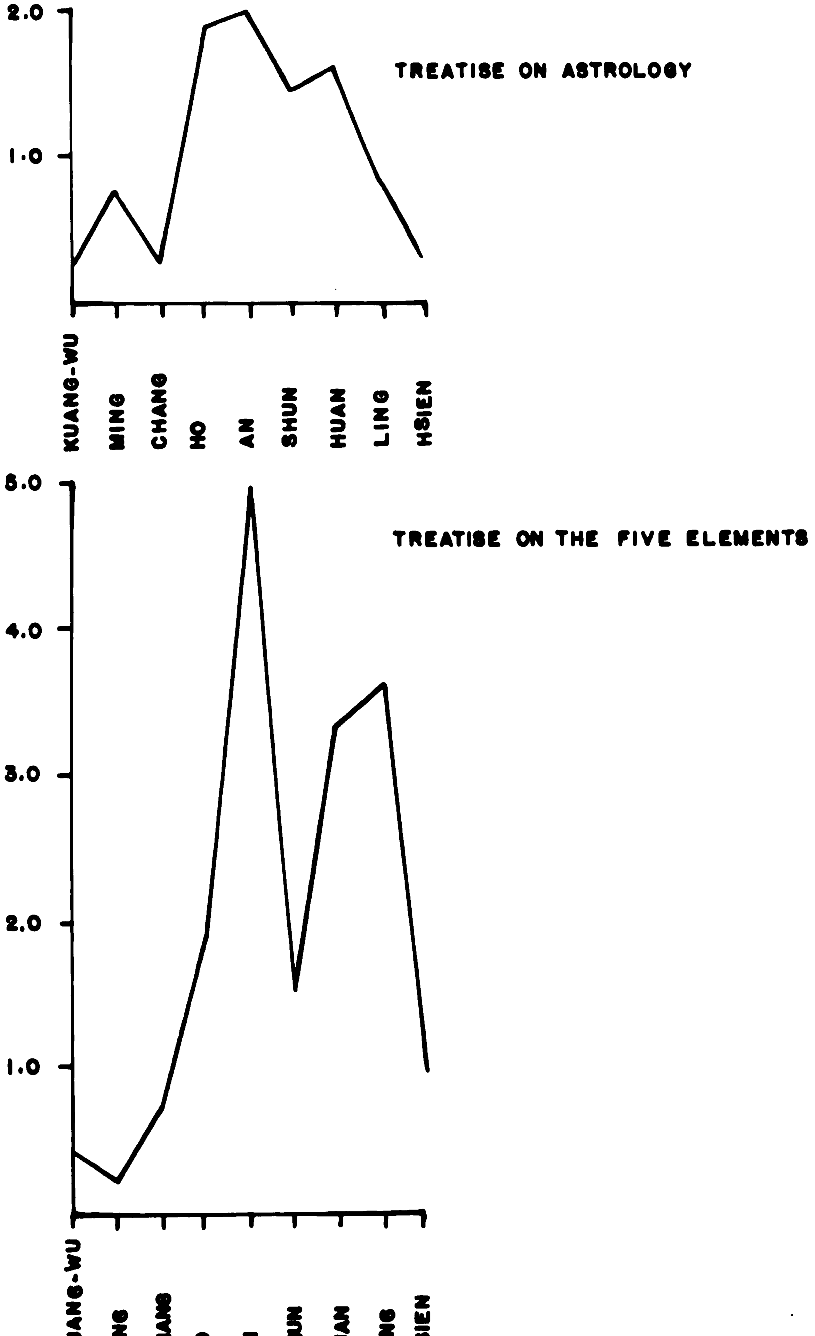
As stated above, "unnatural" phenomena did not become portents in the institutional sense unless they were memorialized. Some of the relevant memorials have actually been preserved. For instance, after an eclipse of the sun on Nov.14, A.D.30, the Bearer of the Gilded Mace, Chu Fou, memorialized that this portent was a warning against the too frequent transfer of officials (*Hou Han shu*[16] 33,63:4a–4b).[17] In the following year, A.D.31, there was a solar eclipse on May 10. The Grand Palace Grandee Cheng Hsing memorialized that this portent was a warning against the emperor's unwillingness to accept candidates recommended by the high officials for important vacancies in the bureaucracy (*HHS* 36,66:3a–4a).[18] In both cases, the general technique of memorializing recent "unnatural" phenomena as portents is conspicuous. It was easy for the officials to learn from their colleagues at the imperial observatory or in the various ministries and offices about suitable celestial or terrestrial aberrations and then to use them for their purposes.[19] On rare occasions, they might have invented an "unnatural" phenomenon, such as a solar eclipse,[20] or have created one, such as lighting a fire.[21] The officials criticized, of course, only when they felt it to be necessary, and ignored "unnatural" phenomena in times of good government. When they were aroused, they followed entirely their own preferences in chosing portents through which to express their complaints.

After an "unnatural" phenomenon had become a portent by having been memorialized, it was the duty of the Prefect Grand Astrologer to enter it into a central list. As the Treatise on the Bureaucracy of *HHS* clearly states: "Always when in the state there are auspicious omens and portents, he is in charge of recording them" (chih 25:1b). It is this central list which was the source of the dynastic historian, and he quoted the portents on it, with overlapping, in the appropriate sections of his history. To show the process by a concrete example: the above-mentioned eclipses of the sun on Nov.14, A.D.30, and on May 10, A.D.31, were in subsequent memorials by Chu Fou and Cheng Hsing reported to the emperor for the purpose of indirect criticism. The eclipses having thereby become portents were entered on the central list of the Prefect Grand Astrologer. The dynastic historian quoted them from it in the Imperial Annals (*HHS* 1B:2b, 4a) and in the Treatise on the Five Elements (*HHS* chih 18:1b–2a). It follows that the central list of portents kept by the Prefect Grand Astrologer is the common statistical universe from which the dynastic historian made his excerpts.

We can be certain that the central list only recorded "unnatural" phenomena which had become portents through memorials. It did not catalogue "unnatural" phenomena in their own right, as for instance, all solar eclipses, all floods, all epidemics, all plagues of locusts etc. The proof is this: Recorded solar eclipses are fewer than those which were visible. Taking Emperor Hsüan's reign as an example, the observable eclipses of Jan.3, 75 B.C., May 8, 73 B.C., Feb.25, 69 B.C., Aug.9, 68 B.C., Sep.20, 61 B.C., July 20, 58 B.C., and July 9, 57 B.C. are not listed as portents.[22] Recorded floods are fewer than those which occurred. For example, in the autumn of 120 B.C., the emperor sent internuncios to commanderies which had suffered from floods (*HS* 6:15b). No flood is listed as a portent for any time in China from 131 through 120 B.C. Recorded epidemics are fewer than those which actually broke out. We know, for example, from a biography that there was a great epidemic in K'uai-chi commandery during the 30's A.D. and that local officials provided physicians and medicine (*HHS* 41,71:9b). An epidemic in the capital during the yung-chien period (125–132) is mentioned by a private author outside the dynastic history tradition.[23] Neither of these epidemics appears in the list of portents. Recorded plagues of locusts are fewer than their real number. For instance, a biography praises the protective virtue of a certain Grand Administrator during the 40's A.D., manifesting itself by the fact that locusts did not enter his commandery from adjacent areas (*HHS* 26,56:14b). No locusts are recorded for this time in the list of portents. It is evident, then, that the Prefect Grand Astrologer did not enter "unnatural" phenomena into his central list unless they had been memorialized as portents.[24]

While, so far, I have found myself in disagreement with Eberhard, and will again be later, I stand corrected on one important point: I should in my earlier study have included the items — chiefly but not exclusively nocturnal celestial phenomena — recorded in the Treatise on Astrology. Although Eberhard looks on them as belonging to a separate list and draws for them a separate graph, [25] he rightly regards them as portents. Accepting this, I would have to prove that the items are excerpts from the central list of the Prefect Grand Astrologer. I think this can be done. There is, first of all, a significant overlapping in the listing of portents, particularly between the Treatise on Astrology and the Imperial Annals of *HS* and *HHS*. In *HS*, one planetary conjunction, four comets, and one instance of thunder without clouds are recorded in both the Treatise on Astrology and the Imperial Annals.[26] In *HHS*, five planetary movements,[27] twenty-three comets,[28] and one meteor[29] are listed in both the Treatise on Astrology and the Imperial Annals. Another meteor is mentioned in the Treatise on Astrology, the Treatise on the Five Elements, and the Imperial Annals.[30] In addition, graphs for the average number of recorded portents per year of reign drawn for the entries in the Treatise on Astrology of *HHS* on the one hand and the Treatise on the Five Elements of *HHS* on the other show a strong resemblance (Graph 1),[31] which congruence, incidentally, is further proof for the validity of my method. Keeping in mind that only one portent is recorded in both treatises[32] and that all others belong to separate categories, the similarity between the graphs can only be explained by the waxing and waning of official discontent which expressed itself through memorializing or ignoring "unnatural" phenomena. The combined evidence offered by the overlapping of entries and the affinity of the graphs proves conclusively that the dynastic historian copied the portents for the Treatise on Astrology from the central list of the Prefect Grand Astrologer, i.e. thal *all* portents belong to a common statistical universe.[33]

We now have reached the point where we can draw a revised graph for indirect criticism, extending our study to include also the Later Han dynasty. Our statistical material consists of all *different* portents from the three sections of *HS* and *HHS*, discarding, naturally, overlapping entries. According to my count, 224 different portents are listed in the Imperial Annals of *HS*,[34] 221 in the Treatise on the Five Elements,[35] and 68 in the Treatise on Astrology.[36] Allowing for overlapping, the real total is 382 for Former Han.[37] In *HHS*, the Imperial Annals record 408 portents, the Treatise on the Five Elements 371, and the Treatise on Astrology 190. Again allowing for overlapping, the real total is 643. It would, of course, be foolish to claim that the Prefect Grand Astrologer and later the dynastic historian did not overlook an occasional portent through accident or carelessness.[38] But such omissions are too few to make a real statistical difference. The course of the curve fits well with what we know about



Graph 1. The average number of recorded portents per year of reign in the Treatises on Astrology and on the Five Elements in *HHS*.

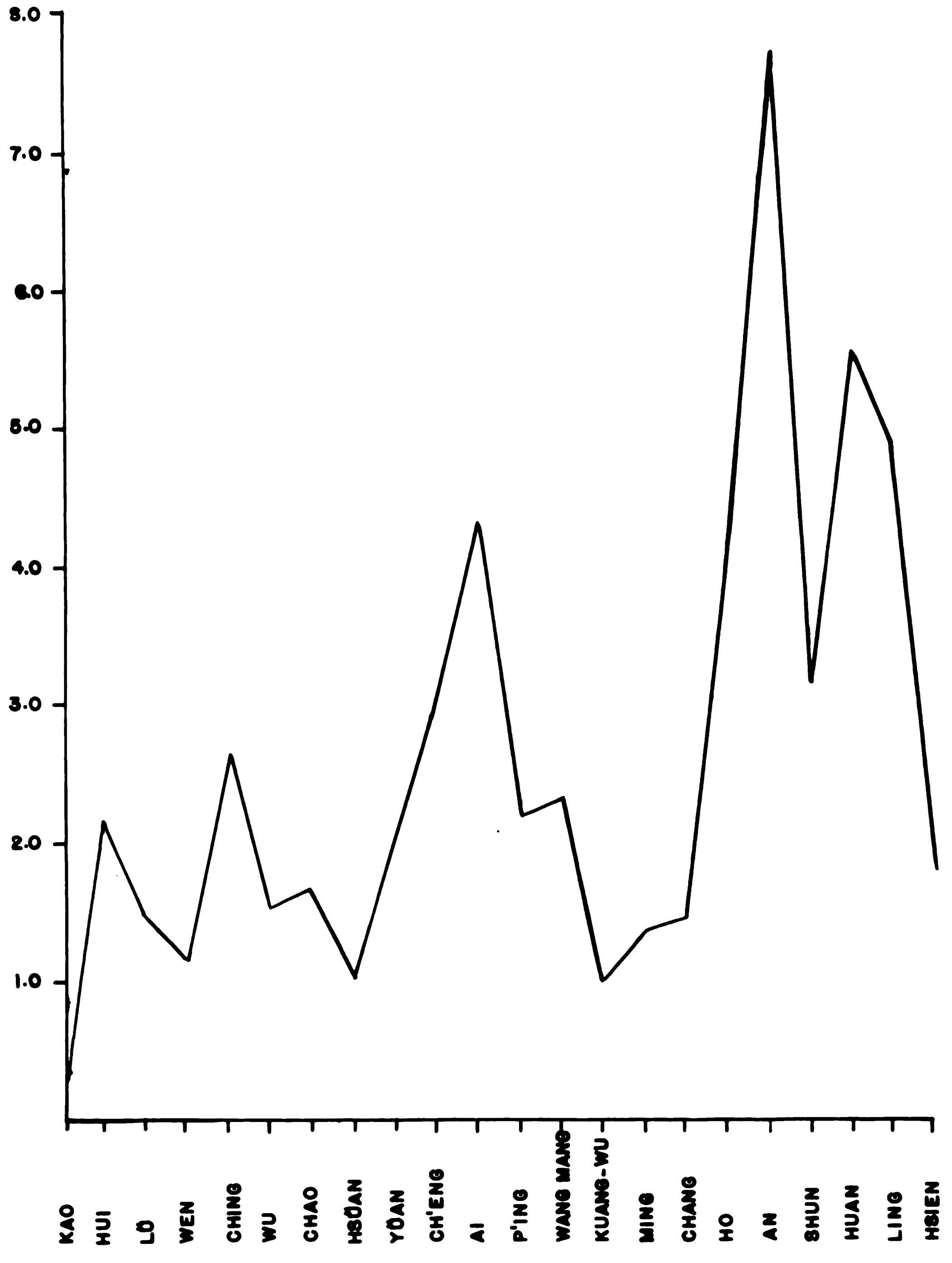
Han history, and it is unimportant whether the average number of recorded portents per year of a particular reign is a fraction higher or lower.39)

When I drew my first graph in 1950, I added up all different recorded portents for a particular reign and then divided that figure by the number of years the ruler was on the throne. This means that each reign is represented on the graph by one point, and that all points, each showing the average number of recorded portents per year of reign, are statistically comparable. I then connected the points by a continuous line, since I wanted to bring out the extent to which indirect criticism increased or decreased from reign to reign.40) I see no cause to change this approach and will draw my new graph according to the same principle.

Graph 2 is my revised graph for Former Han and my new graph for the interregnum of Wang Mang and Later Han.41) It brings out the consecutive volume of discontent among the officials with the emperor (or empress dowager) and his court, his relatives, high officials in his confidence, or a faction in power. As a political weapon, indirect criticism was relatively safe. Some emperors undoubtedly believed that the memorialized portents were real warnings from Heaven. Others may have been more sophisticated but unable to cope with official reproach. One, as we will see, was astute enough to finesse the practice and thereby to reduce indirect criticism from at least the high officials.

The part of the curve which is for Former Han is almost identical with that of my earlier study, except for the reigns of Emperors Ching and Chao. Since I have previously analyzed its course,42) I do not need to go into details here. Indirect criticism was low under Emperor Kao (r. 202–195 B.C.).43) It rose under the nominal reign of Hui (194–188 B.C.), when real power rested with his mother, the Empress Dowager née Lü. Discontent subsided somewhat during her own reign (187–180 B.C.). Emperor Wen (r. 179–157 B.C.) was popular with the officials. But his son, Ching (r. 156–141 B.C.), was much disliked, and his reign was marred by conflict with the kingdoms. Indirect criticism subsided dramatically with the long reign of Emperor Wu (140–87 B.C.). It rose slightly under Chao (r. 86–74 B.C.), presumably because of opposition to the regent Ho Kuang and his clan and allies. Hsüan's reign (73–48 B.C.) was by all accounts the best of Former Han after the first ruler. Thereafter, official discontent grew steadily through the reigns of Yüan (48–33 B.C.) and Ch'eng (32–7 B.C.), reaching its peak with Emperor Ai (r.6–1 B.C.). But in the nominal reign of Emperor P'ing (A.D. 1–6) indirect criticism decreased sharply. Wang Mang was then the regent and undoubtedly enjoyed great esteem among the officials.

Wang Mang's reign 44) is harder to assess. Apart from three entries for the years A.D.22 and 23 in the Treatise on Astrology of *HHS* (chih 10:4a–5b), the Treatises of *HS* and *HHS* list no portents for his reign. He has no Imperial Annals, being considered a usurper by the Han historians. But he has a very long biography (*HS* 99 A-C) which records another thirty-nine portents. We do not know how complete that listing is. Wang Mang was, furthermore, an accomplished politi-



Graph 2. The average number of recorded portents per year of reign in *HS* and *HHS*.

cian who certainly had no illusions about the technique of indirect criticism. He took in A.D.16 the novel step of dividing the empire into regional units of from five to twenty-five commanderies, and of making his high officials their guarantors. Whenever portents were reported from these regions, the salaries of the guarantors were reduced (*HS* 99B:29a–29b). The total number of portents for Wang Mang's reign may therefore be artificially low. I am inclined to think, however, that it cannot have been much higher than shown by the graph, since Wang Mang was a competent ruler.

With Emperor Kuang-wu (r. 25–57), the Han dynasty was restored. His reign was a time of recovery, and official discontent was low. It then rose through the reigns of Ming (58–75), Chang (76–88), and Ho (89–106), reaching the highest point at any time with the extremely unpopular Emperor An (r. 107–125). The reign of Shun (126–144) brought great improvement. Discontent increased again with Emperor Huan (r.147–168) and then fell slightly with Emperor Ling (r. 168–189. The sharp drop of indirect criticism under Hsien (r. 190–220) can have two explanation. Either the officials realized the futility of criticizing the Han court, or Ts'ao Ts'ao had been able to reduce discontent by imposing some order.

So far, we have only considered the institutional use of portents for the purpose of indirect criticism, and that criticism was, of course, directed against conditions of the past. There was, however, another side to the matter. Portents, not only those memorialized to the throne but all "unnatural" phenomena, were also considered harbingers of trouble. They foretold deaths and disasters. Judging by the considerable number of experts on prognostications, belief in and fear of portents must have been widespread among the Chinese of Han times.45) Some prognosticators were asked by emperors to advise them on the meaning of portents.46) Others offered uninvited advice and were sometimes executed for their pains.47) Several wrote monographs on the subject.

It so happens that the dynastic historians often, but not always, attached prognostications to the portents they recorded in their Treatises on the Five Elements and on Astrology, and frequently also noted the subsequent events which supposedly had been foretold. This means that the historians recorded portents for two purposes. First they quoted the portents from the central list of the Prefect Grand Astrologer wich had been used for indirect criticism of the past. Then they added in the majority of cases prognostications for the future.

In the Treatises on Astrology of *HS* and *HHS,* prognostications are listed without the names of the authors, while in the Treatise on the Five Elements of *HHS* the names of contemporary and earlier experts occasionally are given. In the Treatise on the Five Elements of *HS,* on the other hand, the authors of the opinions recorded there are frequently identified by namn. As can be seen from the dates, these experts normally interpreted contemporary portents. One exception is Liu Hsiang (77–6 B.C.), whose views are recorded for portents dated from 204 to 10 B.C. Eberhard concludes from this that Liu Hsiang wrote a monograph on the five elements, that it was completed after his death by his son Liu Hsin (d. A.D.23), that it then was incorporated inte *HS* as the Treatise on the Five Elements, and that consequently Liu Hsiang, not Pan Ku, is the chief author of that treatise.48) I think that Eberhard's attribution is manifestly impossible, even assuming that Liu Hsiang copied his portents from the central list of the Prefect Grand Astrologer. This is because numerous opinions of an unknown expert are given throughout the treatise, from 205 B.C. to A.D.5, adding up to 44% of all interpretations. Who was "unknown"? It was not Liu Hsiang who is routinely referred to by namn. Neither was it his son Liu Hsin who also is mentioned by name. It is out of the question that Liu Hsiang quoted an expert who was unknown to him even though he was his contemporary. "Unknown" must therefore be Pan Ku himself, which makes him the author of the Treatise on the Five Elements.

When Pan Ku compiled the treatise, he added prognostications to about two-thirds of the portents he had copied from the central list of the Prefect Grand Astrologer. Following standard practice, he made use of the work of others. This is why in 15% of all interpretations he accepted those of Liu Hsiang. Pan Ku found them, no doubt, in Liu Hsiang's monograph, the *Wu-hsing chuan* in 11 chüan, which is listed in the Treatise on Bibliography of *HS* (30:6b). It is possible that the theoretical introductions to the various sections of the treatise owe much to the same work. Pan Ku made even greater use of Ching Fang's (fl.40 B.C.) *Yi chuan* 49) and relies on him in 20% of all interpretations. He added the opinions of lesser experts. But the chief interpreter of the treatise was he himself.

How are we, finally, to understand the entries of "unnatural" phenomena in the *Ku-chin chu* of Fu Wu-chi (fl. A.D.151)?50) This text was lost and then partially reconstructed by Mao P'an-lin (Ch'ing) from quotations, mainly in Liu Chao's (fl. 502–519) commentary to the Treatises on the Five Elements and on Astrology in *HHS*. These entries can best be shown and compared with the *HHS* listings in tabular form:

	Listed in *Ku-chin chu*	Also listed in *HHS*
Lunar and planetary movement, comets	97	7
Droughts	23	1
Fires	13	1
Floods	6	2
Rains	2	0
Hail	8	0
Locusts	9	3
Epidemics	2	0

Solar phenomena, including eclipses		23	0
Thunder		4	0
Miscellaneous		6	0
	total	193	14

Where did Fu Wu-chi get this material, and what does it mean? The answer becomes clearer when we remember that Fu Wu-chi was one of several historians appointed by Emperor Huan in A.D.151 or 152 to compile the second continuation of the *Tung-kuan Han chi* which later became the chief source of Fan Yeh's *HHS*.[51] While collecting relevant materials for his official task, Fu Wu-chi obviously made excerpts for himself and put these in a book of his own. He was interested in"unnatural" phenomena and found information on these in the various archives of the capital, not in the central list of portents kept by the Prefect Grand Astrologer. His main source for lunar and planetary movements, comets, and solar phenomena including eclipses (120 items) was the archive of the imperial observatory, whose staff was in charge of routinely watching and recording celestial phenomena.[52] This can be proved by the fact that *Ku-chin chu* (3:5a) lists a solar eclipse for Feb.17, A.D.25, which was only visible in North America and the eastern Pacific Ocean, not in China.[53] It stands to reason that this eclipse was calculated by the Chinese astronomers and that Fu Wu-chi learned the date from their records.

We cannot know how complete Fu Wu-chi's original excerpts were. So much is certain, that he collected the raw material of "unnatural" phenomena, the one from which the officials selected appropriate portents for their indirect criticism through memorials. This is the reason why some of *Ku-chin chu's* "unnatural" phenomena are also recorded as portents in *HHS*.[54]

NOTES

1. *Beiträge zur kosmologischen Spekulation der Chinesen der Han-Zeit*, Berlin 1933.
2. *The History of the Former Han Dynasty, Translation*, vols. I–II, Baltimore 1938, 1944. Vol.III had not yet appeared at that time.
3 See my "An Interpretation of the Portents in the Ts'ien-Han shu", *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol.22, 1950, pp. 127–143.
4. By Pan Ku (d. A.D.92). Henceforth quoted as *HS*. References are to Wang Hsien-ch'ien's (1842–1917) *Ch'ien Han shu pu-chu*. Ch'ang-sha 1900.
5. *History of Former Han*, vol.II, p. 364.
6. *Beiträge*, pp. 93, 97.
7. In *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. by J.K.Fairbank, Chicago and London, 1957.
8. P. 53.
9. Ibid., pp. 51, 59–60.
10. *Studien zur Geschichte des konfuzianischen Dogmas*, Hamburg 1920.
11. "Political Function", p. 48.
12. See G.Kennedy's splendid "An Interpretation of the Ch'un-ch'iu", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol.60, 1940, pp. 1–22, 193–207.
13. See my "Interpretation of the Portents", pp. 134–135.
14. See *infra* for the *Shih chi* and the Treatise on Astrology.
15. "Political Function", pp. 41–47.
16. By Fan Yeh (398–446). Henceforth quoted as *HHS*. References are to Wang Hsien-ch'ien's (1842–1917) *Hou Han shu chi-chieh*, Ch'ang-sha 1923. 33,63:4a–4b means pp. 4a–4b in chüan 33, which corresponds to chüan 63 of the Palace edition.
17. See my *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, vol.IV *The Government*, in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol.51, 1979, p. 55.
18. See ibid., pp. 59–60.
19. For instance, the eclipse of Nov.14, A.D.30, had not been visible in the capital and had been reported by provincial officials. Chu Fou could not therefore have observed it himself, but had got his information, most certainly, from an archivist at the imperial observatory.
20. See my "Interpretation of the Portents", p. 130.
21. For instance, Hsia-hou Shih-ch'ang predicted a fire for Jan.15, 104 B.C. on the Po-liang Terrace which occurred at the scheduled time and place (*HS* 6:31a; 27A:13a; 75:2a). The Palace Attendant Han Yüeh predicted a fire for Mar.28, A.D.185, in the Southern Palace of Lo-yang which also broke out as scheduled (*HHS* 8:12a; chih 14:4b; 82B, 112B:4a). See my *Lo-yang in Later Han Times. Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol.48, 1976, p. 31.
22. See Dubs, *History of Former Han*, vol.II, pp. 275–276, and my "Interpretation of the Portents", p. 142.
23. Ying Shao (c.140–c.206), *Feng-su t'ung-yi*, 10 chüan, yi-wen 6 chüan. Centre franco-chinois d'études sinologiques, Peking 1943, p. 86.
24. This practice is the reason why the change in the course of the Yellow River in the reign of Emperor P'ing (A.D.1–6) is nowhere mentioned in *HS* and only can be proved to have taken place by the population figures for A.D.140, an edict of A.D.70, and the biography of an engineer. See my "The Census of China during the Period 2–742 A.D.", *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol.19, 1947, pp. 140–141, and my *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, vol.I, ibid., vol.26, 1954, pp. 147–150. No official chose the flood as a subject for indirect criticism. The cumulative effects of that flood became only gradually apparent, so that the magnitude of the catastrophe may not habe been understood in the capital. It is, in addition, useless to speculate why officials preferred one "unnatural" phenomenon over another. I cannot see anything bold in this observation as asserted by Eberhard, "Political Function", pp. 350–351,

note 83.

25. "Political Function", p. 43.
26. The instances are dated 205, 74, 49, 44, 32, and 12 B.C. See *HS* 1A:18b–19b; 7:10a; 8:24b; 9:5b; 10:3a, 13b; 26:48b–49a, 55a, 56a, 56b, 57a, 58b.
27. These are dated A.D.137, 138. 143, 146, and 213. See *HHS* 6:10a, 10b, 13a, 18a; 9:10b, chih 11: 11a, 11b, 12a, 13a; chih 12:6a–6b.
28. These are dated A.D.39, 60, 75, 76, 84, 109, 131, 132, 141, 149, 161, 178, 180, 182, 188, 191, 193, 200, 204, 206, 207, 212, 218. See *HHS* 1B:11a; 2:7b, 17b; 3:4a, 14b; 5:7a; 6:6a, 7b, 11b; 7:4b, 10b; 8:8a, 9a, 10a, 14a; 9:3a, 4b, 8b, 9a, 9b, 10b, 11b; chih 10:7a–7b; chih 11:1a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 7b, 10b, 11a, 12a–12b; chih 12:1a, 2a, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b.
29. Dated A.D.164. See *HHS* 7:12a; chih 12:6b.
30. Dated A.D.106. See *HHS* 5:2b; chih 12:6b; chih 15:6a.
31. There are 190 entries in the *HHS* Treatise on Astrology, 371 in the *HHS* Treatise on the Five Elements. This allows for a statistical comparison. In contrast, the entries in the *HS* Treatise on Astrology are only 68, too low a figure to be statistically significant.
32. The meteor of A.D.164. See above and note 30.
33. This conclusion is not invalidated by the fact that the *HS* Treatise on Astrology was written by Pan Ku's contemporary Ma Hsü, or that the *Tung-kuan Han chi*, the chief source of *HHS*, was written in instalments. The various dynastic historians still made use of the same central list. It should also be noted that while the treatises of *HHS* are attributed to Ssu-ma Piao (240–306), few original documents can still have been available at his time. He had to make use of earlier compilations. As I have shown in my *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, Cambridge 1980, pp. 1–2, the Treatise on the Bureaucracy (*HHS* chih 34–38) was taken over by Su-ma Piao in its entirety from a Later Han historian. The textual history of the Treatises on the Five Elements and on Astrology is undoubtedly similar.
34. Eberhard's total is 211, close enough to make no real difference. See "Political Function", p. 42.
35. Eberhard's total is 224. See ibid.
36. Eberhard's total is 64. See ibid. The last entry in the Treatise on Astrology is for the 11th month of 2 B.C. (*HS* 26:60a), not for 5 B.C. as claimed by Eberhard (ibid.). The reason why there are no entries from 1 B.C. until Emperor P'ing's death in early A.D.6 is that no official chose to memorialize any portent which the dynastic historian would have listed in this category. Similarly, the Treatise on Astrology has no entries for e.g. 60–54 B.C. There is consequently no need for Eberhard to adjust his data (ibid.).
37. In contrast to Eberhard, I exclude the handful of portents listed in the Imperial Annals of *Shih chi*. These number 35 according to my count (Eberhard, "Political Function", p. 42, has 34), as compared to 135 for the same period in *HS*, and span the time until 104 B.C. 16 of the 35, all in the reign of Emperor Ching (156–141), are not listed by *HS*. If they were added to the *HS* total for Ching, the peak for that emperor would rise by one point. However, the *Shih chi* has a different format from *HS* and *HHS*. It has no Treatise on the Five Elements, and its Treatise on Astrology does not systematically record individual portents. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's historiographical technique was obviously different from that of his successors, and this makes it safer to reject his material.
38. For instance, Hsiang K'ai wrote two memorials in A.D.166, criticizing Emperor Huan (*HHS* 30B, 60B:15b–20a). See R. de Crespigny's excellent *Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty. The Memorials of Hsiang K'ai to Emperor Huan. Oriental Monograph Series* no.18, Canberra 1976. The first memorial lists ten portents, the second four. One of the former and two of the latter do not appear in the list of portents. This could be due to oversight by the Prefect Grand Astrologer or the dynastic historian. It is also possible that the Prefect Grand Astrologer made an abbreviated entry into his list whenever memorials reported multiple portents.

    On eleven occasions, Former Han emperors in edicts assumed the blame for portents which are mentioned nowhere else in *HS* (one edict in 67 B.C., one in 65 B.C., three in 47 B.C., three in 41 B.C., one in 16 B.C., and two in 7 B.C.; see *HS* 8:9a, 13a; 9:3b, 4a, 9a; 10:11b; 11:3b). Here the dynastic historian may have considered it superfluous to record the portents elsewhere. I have included these cases in my statistics.

39. For instance, the adding or subtracting of one portent to or from a twenty-year reign, would change the course of the graph by only 0.05 point.

I do not wish to say that *all* items recorded by the dynastic historian come from the central list of the Prefect Grand Astrologer. The Treatises on the Five Elements of both *HS* and *HHS* include a section on the so-called Children's Songs, undoubtedly because these were supposed to have a prophetic quality. In reality, the Children's Songs were used for contemporary political propaganda. See my *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, vol. II, *The Civil War, Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol.31, 1959, pp. 247–248. These items, three in *HS* 27Ba:26a–26b, and twelve in *HHS* chih 13:10b–14a, are excluded from my statistics. I am also inclined to think that the sections on Bad Fortune Foretold by Garments and on Disrespectful Manners should be excluded and have done so. The former consists of two items in *HS* 27Ba:10b, and of ten items in *HHS* chih 13:4b–6b, the latter of four items in *HHS* chih 13:2b–3a. These can hardly be memorialized portents but must fall into the category of contemporary propaganda and gossip.

Finally, I exclude two items concerning the king of Ch'ang-yi, namely that he ordered the killing of perching pelikans (*HS* 27Ba:8a–8b) and that he saw a bear in his palace invisible to others (*HS* 27 Ba:27a). These cases, whether memorialized or not, were not directed against the ruler or his government but against the man who was to be briefly enthroned and then dethroned as emperor in 74 B.C. (The above supersedes my note 2 on p. 131 of my earlier article). In any event, as already observed, the inclusion or exclusion of occasional items like these has no significant effect on the course of the curve.

If nothing is said in this paper about auspicious omen, this is due to the fact that they are not systematically recorded by the dynastic historian. He devotes no special treatise to them, in addition to which his information was incomplete. We know for a fact that Emperor Kuang-wu, with real or false modesty, did not permit the Prefect Grand Astrologer to list auspicious omen which had been memorialized (*HHS* 1B:21b). His may well have been a common imperial attitude.

40. I do not agree that this type of graph should give "the impression that there was an increase or decrease of recorded phenomena in the early or later part of an emperor's rule" as claimed by Eberhard ("Political Function", p. 44). His own approach is to draw histograms, based on 5-year periods (ibid. p. 43). This is another and perfectly good method, even though it tends to obscure longe-range trends.

41. In Graphs 1 and 2 I have followed the *HHS* practice of adding the nominal reigns of child emperors when emprésses dowager were in power to the preceding ones. These reigns are far too short — from a few months to just over one year — to be considered in their own right. Consequently, Shang's reign is added to that of Ho, Shao's to An, Ch'ung's and Chih's to Shun, and Shao's to Ling.

42. See my "Interpretation of the Portents", pp. 137–141. See also my *Restoration of the Han Dynasty*, vol. I, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 26, 1954, pp. 156–161.

43. The founder of Former Han counted his dynasty from 206 B.C., when he became the king of Han. But he did not proclaim himself emperor until Feb.28, 202 B.C. In contrast to my earlier paper, I here begin the graph with 202 B.C.

44. Wang Mang was Acting Emperor from A.D.6 to 9, and emperor in his own right from A.D.9 to 23. I here count his reign A.D. 6 to 23.

45. Some individuals were even buried with their favourite manuscripts on prognostications. For the case of tomb no. 3 of 168 B.C. in Ma-wang-tui, see M.Loewe, "The Han View on Comets", *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, vol. 52, 1980, pp. 1–31.

46. E.g. Ku Yung's lengthy advice to Emperor Ch'eng in 12 B.C. (*HS* 85:15b–18b), or the interrogation of experts on behalf of Emperor Ling on Aug.11, A.D. 178, in the Hall of Exalted Virtue of the Northern Palace in Lo-yang (see my *Lo-yang*, p. 36). Many other examples could be given.

47. E.g. Kuei Hung was executed in 78 B.C. (*HS* 75:1b–2a), Ching Fang in 37 B.C. (*HS* 75:8b–11b), and Wang Chang in 28 B.C. (*HS* 60:12b).

48. "Political Function", pp. 44–45.

49. This is not listed in *HS* 30. Ching Fang was the founder of one of the schools of interpretation of the *Book*

of Changes.

50. *Shih-chung ku yi-shu, 1834.*

 Eleven entries are for Former Han and dated 125 to 3 B.C. They are not considered here. All other entries are for Later Han and dated A.D. 25 to 146. I do not discuss the auspicious omens for Former and Later Han.

51. *See my Restoration,* vol.I, p. 11.

52. See my *Bureaucracy,* p. 23, for such staff titles as Watchers of the Sun, Watchers of the Sun's Shadow, Watchers of the Stars etc.

53. See Dubs, *The History of Former Han. Translation.* vol.III. Baltimore 1955. p. 545. note 3. Dubs confuses the *Ku-chin chu* with another work of doubtful authenticity with the same name, supposedly written by Ts'ui Pao (Chin). This is why he cannot find the entry in the text. He also converts the Chinese date of the eclipse wrongly to Feb.16.

54. If Fu Wu-chi had taken his items not from the raw materials but from the central list of the Prefect Grand Astrologer, it would follow that the quotations from that list in *HHS* are utterly incomplete. But there are two reasons why this cannot be so:

 1. No disgruntled official would chose for indirect criticism a calculated eclipse invisible in China.

 2. If Fu Wu-chi's non-overlapping items were added to my statistics based on the central list, the founder of Later Han, Kuang-wu, would be higher on the graph (2.8) than his successors Ming (2.5) and Chang (2.7). This is patently absurd. Kuang-wu restored peace and had wide support among his officials. Ming, on the other hand, was suspicious of his brothers and their supposed adherents among the officials, which led to the execution of many. See my *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty,* vol. III, *The People, Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities,* vol. 39, 1967, pp. 31–36. My Graph 2 clearly brings out the relative popularity of these emperors and must therefore reflect historical fact.

CHINESE TERMS

1. Auspicious omen
2. Bad Fortune Foretold by Garments
3. Bearer of the Gilded Mace
4. Ch'ang-yi kingdom
5. Cheng Hsing
6. *Ch'ien Han shu pu-chu*
7. Children's Songs
8. Ching Fang
9. Chu Fou
10. Disrespectful Manners
11. Fan Yeh
12. *Feng-su t'ung-yi*
13. Fu Wu-chi
14. Grand Administrator
15. Grand Palace Grandee
16. Hall of Exalted Virtue
17. Han Yüeh
18. Ho Kuang
19. *Hou Han shu chi-chieh*
20. Hsia-hou Shih-ch'ang
21. Hsiang K'ai
22. Imperial Annals
23. imperial observatory
24. *Ku-chin chu*
25. Ku Yung
26. K'uai-chi commandery
27. Kuei Hung
28. Liu Chao
29. Liu Hsiang
30. Liu Hsin
31. Ma Hsü
32. Mao P'an-lin
33. Palace Attendant
34. Pan Ku
35. Po-liang Terrace
36. portent
37. Prefect Grand Astrologer
38. *Shih chi*
39. *Shih-chung ku yi-shu*
40. Ssu-ma Ch'ien
41. Ssu-ma Piao
42. Treatise on Astrology
43. Treatise on Bibliography
44. Treatise on the Bureaucracy
45. Treatise on the Five Elements
46. Ts'ui Pao
47. *Tung-kuan Han chi*
48. Wang Chang
49. Wang Hsien-ch'ien
50. Watcher of the Stars
51. Watcher of the Sun
52. Watcher of the Sun's Shadow
53. *Wu-hsing chuan*
54. *Yi chuan*
55. Ying Shao
56. yung-chien period

CHINESE CHARACTERS

1. 瑞應 2. 服妖 3. 執金吾 4. 昌邑 5. 鄭興 6. 前漢書補注 7. 童謠 8. 京房 9. 朱浮 10. 貌不恭 11. 范曄 12. 風俗通義 13. 伏無忌 14. 太守 15. 太中大夫 16. 崇德殿 17. 韓說 18. 翟光 19. 後漢書集解 20. 夏侯始昌 21. 袁崧 22. 帝紀 23. 靈臺 24. 古今注 25. 谷永 26. 會稽 27. 眭弘 28. 劉昭 29. 劉向 30. 劉歆 31. 馬續 32. 茆泮林 33. 侍中 34. 班固 35. 柏梁臺 36. 災異 37. 太史令 38. 史記 39. 十種古逸書 40. 司馬遷 41. 司馬彪 42. 天文志 43. 藝文志 44. 百官志 45. 五行志 46. 崔豹 47. 東觀漢記 48. 王莽 49. 王先謙 50. 候星 51. 候日 52. 候日晷 53. 五行傳 54. 易傳 55. 應劭 56. 永建

THE STAG WITH BIRD-HEADED ANTLER TINES: A STUDY IN IMAGE TRANSFORMATION AND MEANING

by

Esther Jacobson

The stag with bird-headed antler tines is one of the most enigmatic and least-considered motifs in the imagistic vocabulary of Scytho-Siberian art. Its normative formulation is presented by an embossed gold plate from the Crimean barrow of Ak-Mechet, dated to the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.,[1] on which appears a recumbent stag with alert head and palmated antlers, the ends of which take the form of large-beaked bird heads with pronounced ceres (Pl. 1). The easy combination, here, of a vividly realistic head and body with patently fantastic antlers argues for a motif already legitimized by time and tradition. Such images multiplied throughout the fifth century in the region of Pontic Scythia, but by the early fourth century they had disappeared. It is noteworthy, however, that aspects of this motif and its variations appear in related nomadic art of South Siberia, Mongolia and the Ordos between the fifth and third centuries B.C.[2] The first purpose of this paper is to examine the stag with bird-headed antler-tines in Pontic Scythia and to analyze its curious permutations in the region of Siberia and Mongolia. The second problem to be here addressed is the signification of this motif within the larger iconographic context of Scytho-Siberian art and burial ritual. As will become apparent, the approach used in this paper assumes that within the art of pre-literate societies, the ritualized ordering of individual motifs into image complexes is capable of revealing complex and primary value systems.

The stag with bird-headed antler tines does not appear in the earliest materials associated with the Scythian sojourn in the Iranian plateau and with their eventual homeland to the immediate east and north of the Black Sea. In this earliest Scythian period, however, there appear certain patterns involving the stag image. On a gold plaque from Ziwiye,[3] recumbent stags with elaborated antlers alternate with recumbent ibex on a field organized by diagonal ribbons joining at panther heads. The stags and ibex reveal the unmistakably Scythian use of "schraggschnit," although the stylized fringing of their lower bodies, the use of a ribbon motif and even the frontal panther heads are reminiscent of Urartian mannerisms.[4] Despite the decorative flourishes of the ribbons, the images of all three animals remain juxtaposed but hieratic in their formality and self-contained isolation. Similarly formal and hieratic are the crouched panthers and beak-heads on a gaming dish from Ziwiye as well as those on a gold belt plaque from the same site.5) The crouched panther, recumbent stag and beak-head reappear on objects recovered from the earliest Scythian kurgans in the Kuban and Dniepre regions, dated to the early sixth century. On gold sword covers from the Litoy Mound (Melgunov Treasure) and Kelermes kurgan,6) the Urartianizing motifs on the hilts and scabbards contrast with the thoroughly Scythian stags and beak-heads embellishing the projecting wing at the top of the scabbard. The same stag with elaborated antlers and frozen profile recurs on the top of a hatchet handle from Kelermes,7) as well as on a gold gorytus from the same site — there in combination with two borders of crouched panthers (Pl. 2). These objects, as well as the great gold panther from Kelermes, the gold stag from Kostromskaya and the two bronze pole tops from Ulski Aul in the form of huge beak-heads (Pls. 3, 4) reveal significant patterns in this earliest Scythian material from the Iranian plateau and the Pontic region: that the prime motifs were the panther, the beak-head and the stag; that they appeared frequently in some combination on the same object; and that their normative presentation was profile, formal and self-contained. Besides representing what will here be referred to as the archaic Scythian triad of panther, bird and stag, however, several of these objects also introduce the principles of zoomorphic juncture and superimposition.8)

The archaic triad dominated Scythian art of the sixth century, offering the most impressive indications of a still poorly understood symbolic system.9) By the fifth century, however, the purity of their individual images had largely disappeared. In place of the simple stag with elaborated antlers there appeared the stag with bird-headed antler tines. In the case of the Ak-Mechet stag, the posture and stylized realism recalls that of the Kostromskaya stag; but the more naturalistic eye, the notched throat fringe and the beak-headed antlers indicates a modification of the archaic system in which an image complex was composed of individual, self-isolating images (e.g. Kelermes *gorytus*). The modest expression of zoomorphic juncture and superimposition on the Kelermes panther, the Kostromskaya stag and the Ulski poletops finds almost no repetition after the sixth century except in this strangely convincing permutation of antler into bird, and in the appearance of bird-heads superimposed on stag bodies.

Related to the Ak-Mechet plaque is one of bronze, from Seven Brothers, barrow 4, dated to the second quarter of the fifth century (Pl. 5). The schematic head of a small deer carries upright antlers transformed into three large- eyed beak heads topped by a serrated projection. To the same period is attributed a gold plaque from Zhurovka, barrow 401, the remains of which include a finely realistic deer head, from whose forehead projects a serrated pole with attached beak-heads (Pl. 6).10) In the same barrow was found a hammered gold frontlet decorated with punched line representations of two large bird-heads, a large eagle-like bird in full flight, and a recumbent stag (Pl. 7). Referring back to the earlier treatment of stag, bird and panther as self-contained images, this frontlet — occurring side-by-side with the stag with bird-headed antler tines — suggests that the earlier juxtaposition implied a conceptual linking which is visually effected in the second plaque. Both plaques from Zhurovka 401 are echoed in a damaged gold relief (Pl. 8) from a kurgan at Il'ichevo, Crimea, on which small beak-heads in rows at the bottom of the remaining sheet recall the beak-heads on the intact frontlet from Zhurovka. The deer head above, however, with its naturalistically handled eye and ear and its antlers transformed into beak-heads, documents the permutation of *juxtaposition* into *integration.* Small rosettes and one or two beak-heads attached to the jaw and cheek of the deer head add a curious twist to the Il'ichevo plaque, but also indicate how, in the fifth century, bird-heads appear superimposed on stag bodies. On a hammered gold plaque from Dubovaya, in the Dniepre region, dated to the fifth century B.C., a standing stag displays a great beak-head on its shoulder.11) A long-beaked bird head serves as the collar on the fine stag head adorning the gold scabbard sheath from Elizavetovskaya, barrow 1, also dated to the late fifth century (Pl. 10). Here the large forehead tines and elongated antlers are transformed into long-beaked bird heads.12). More traditional are the small gold stags, with bird-headed antlers, from the so-called Maikop treasure dated to the late fifth-early fourth centuries B.C.13) A striking permutation of the stag/bird motif appears on a gold quiver cover from Axjutintsy, in the Dniepre region, usually dated to the fifth century (Pl. 11). The crouching stag is marked on shoulder, chest and throat by beak-heads. But these beak-headed antlers indicate an increasing Greek influence on Scythian art during the late fifth century: they have now become griffon-headed, distinguished from the earlier beak-heads by the appearance of ears.14)

The complex of stag, bird and snake occurs on a curious and hitherto unique zoomorphic grouping from Il'ichevo, dated like the other from the same site to the fifth century (Pl. 9). A rearing snake confronts a recumbent stag whose head is raised as if in terror. Laced around and biting into the chest of the stag is a wolf-like creature, while an eagle-like bird pecks at the stag's tail. A row of beak-heads above the stag indicates they originally formed its antlers, while its feet also have been transformed into beak-heads. There are no comparable groups from the Pontic region which have survived, but there are several related pieces. The curious matrix from Garchinovo15) combines a stag with ram-headed antler tines, a scattering of bird heads, and a stylized confrontation between the crumbling stag and a panther-like creature, from whose head emerges a single branch sprouting beak-heads. It is the theme of the attack — realistic or stylized — which significantly connects this stag/bird combination with that of Il'ichevo, as well as with the famous gold stag from Kul Oba (Pl. 12). On that object, dated to the fourth century and already showing so clearly signs of the corruption of the archaic style by Greek instrusions, a dog-like creature under the stag's throat meekly echoes the wolf of the Il'ichevo plaque, just as the stag's griffon-headed tail recalls the pecking bird of the earlier piece. A single ram's head terminating the last antler tine distantly mirrors the ram heads on the Garchinovo stag. In many respects the Kul Oba stag is instructive. Its thin, elongated head and body and its repetitious antler tines are pale reflections of the Kostromskaya stag's monumentality, while the superimposed griffon, lion, rabbit and dog testify to the powerful overlay, by the fourth century, of Greek images and ideals. Debased as it is, the Kul Oba stag functions as a catalogue of significant structures in late fifth and early fourth century Pontic Scythian art: the joining of predator and stag; the association between antlers, horns and birds; and the articulation of an eagle-like bird as both predator and as integral part of the stag itself.

The Kul Oba stag is virtually the last Pontic Scythian example of zoomorphic juncture and transformation involving a stag.16) By the fourth century, Greek influence was purging Scythian art of its last archaic elements: lions replaced panthers, griffons replaced eagles, and the stag was represented either with thoroughly Classical naturalism or was paired with or replaced by equally naturalistic horses.17) This does not mean, however, that the fifth century pattern combining stag, bird, and occasional ram and predator disappeared. It rather assumed a new formulation, one conforming to the new imagistic vocabulary of the fourth century, and exemplified by objects from the royal burials at Solokha, Chertomlyk, and Tolstaia Mogila. On the upper border of a gorytus from Solokha, a stag is savaged by a lion and griffon, while in the main panel can still be detected a scene of non-Greeks in battle.18) A phiale from the same site is covered with realistic scenes of lions savaging deer.19) The great vase from Chertomlyk, dated to the mid-fourth century, is divided into several friezes: the body of the vessel is covered with a beautiful floral pattern, under a row of men and horses in strong relief. At the top of the vessel, around the throat, great griffons attack stags.20) On the wing of a gold scabbard cover from the same burial, a crouching griffon bites into the head of a stag, while Greek warriors battle in the main frieze.21) Perhaps the most impressive object from the fourth century combining new versions of archaic motifs is the gold pectoral from Tolstaia Mogila22) (Pl. 13). In a division of men, floral motifs and animals recalling that on the Chertomlyk vase, powerfully realistic lions savage a stag and a boar, while griffons attack three horses. It is not that this and other fourth century scenes of lions and griffons savaging stags and horses is necessarily equivalent to or a "modern" version of the fifth century stag with bird-headed antler tines; rather, it is perhaps significant that the savage animal attack did not appear in Pontic Scythian art until the stag with beak-headed antler tines had disappeared. With the appearance of that attack, almost always involving lions and griffons against stags, goats, horses or boars, two of the original three archaic Scythian images essentially disappeared: the panther and the eagle or beak-head. With these changes there also abruptly appeared the representation of human beings and vegetable forms.

Paradoxically, the meaning of the stag, the bird, the animal attack and of their changes in Pontic Scythian art is revealed through the complex history of the stag motif in Scythian period Siberia and Mongolia. There variations on imagistic themes become instructive, just as are the structuring of related images revealed through intact burials. Absolute dating of the Siberian and Mongolian material remains elusive; but series of images related to several geographical and cultural regions offer corroborating parallels which allow the proposal of a relative dating. As will be demonstrated below, the motif of the stag with bird-headed antler tines, and its permutations, offers this possibility in the Siberian region of Scytho-Siberian culture, just as it does in Pontic Scythian culture.

In any examination of Siberian material of this period, the objects in the Siberian Treasure of Peter the Great, housed in Leningrad's Ermitage State Museum, constitute one of the most significant groups but also the most enigmatic. The modern history of this treasure is clear, but the origin and chronology of its objects are not. Rudenko, the only scholar who has studied the Treasure in detail, dated its objects between the sixth and third centuries B.C., and suggested that the kurgans from which they were plundered were found in the region of Siberia and North Kazakstan, between the Tobol and upper Ob rivers.23) It is generally agreed that massive gold plaques from this treasure had to have been fixed to some kind of sturdy backing: leather belts or chest covers, worn by horses or men.24) All evidence indicates that the plaques were regularly cast in pairs and were meant to be worn or carried as mirror images on either side of some central point of reference. In the case of the rho-shaped plaques, compositions suggest that the enlarged ends of the plaques pointed to the central reference point. This appears to be Rudenko's understanding of the manner in which the plaques were worn, if one assumes that his reference to "right" and "left" is by reference to the wearer of the plaques.

The first thing to note is that the Siberian Treasure includes no images of stags with bird-headed antler tines. It does include, however, a number of animals which are crested or tailed with griffon heads, and one elk-like animal with a beaked head.25) Two of the most powerful plaques show a tiger in combat with a great snouted wolf (Pl. 14).26) No less savage but far more complex is the attack detailed on another pair of plaques (Pl. 15),27) in which a griffonated eagle, a snouted wolf and a huge tiger dispute the body of a small animal with the hoofs and body of a horse and the head of a griffon. Griffon heads sprout from the tail of the horse-like animal, from that of the tiger, and from the tiger's withers. A verbal description of this zoomorphic drama does little to convey its stylized savagery, its intimation of ritualized detachment. Only the twisted, drooping body of the victim suggests the force and fact of sacrifice. The animal's hoofs, like its body, more clearly suggest a horse than a stag, just as does its long (if un-horselike) tail. Of all the animals here presented, it is the only non-predator; but its head affords it an element of commonality with both the griffonated eagle and the tiger. The eagle is also puzzling: is it contesting the right of the tiger to this sacrifice, or does it seek to wrest the victim from both the tiger and the wolf? A somewhat similar grouping of animals is found on another plaque from the Treasure, in which a griffonated eagle tears into the neck of a passive yak, with one of its talons placed on the twisted back of a small tiger who in turn bites the tail of the bird (Pl. 16). Again, the division of roles is significant: the victim is an herbivore, horned and hoofed, and the apparent predators are the carniverous tiger and eagle. In this case, no extra beak-heads connect this plaque to those previously mentioned; but the theme of the savage attack, the passive acceptance of one animal and the contest between others do form significant parallels with the wolf/tiger and tiger/eagle/wolf/groupings in the other pieces.

One of the most famous plaques in the Siberian Treasure is said to have been recovered in Verkneudinsk, far from the supposed provenance of most of the objects in the Treasure (Pl. 17).28) The plaque is dominated by a profile standing animal with the body and hoofs of a horse, with a long tail terminating in a griffon head, and with a large beaked head with pronounced ceres. A small smooth-bodied feline attacks the chest of the passive horse, while from its forehead and neck sprout long-necked griffon heads. A great eagle is superimposed on the body of the horse so that the bird's chest is also engulfed in the gapping jaws of the feline. The back part of the horse's body takes the form of a huge griffonated eagle's head which holds in its beak the head of a ram. As was the case with the sacrificial victims in the first group of gold plaques, that here is masked with a beak-head, it is passive, and it is decidedly horse-like in appearance. The aureole of griffon heads around the animal is not quite antler-like, yet it calls to mind the beak-headed antler tines of the Pontic Scythian stag motif. Here, also, griffonated eagles and felines are cast in the role of predator. Closely related to the Verkneudinsk plaque is a series of others of striking iconographic interest, despite indifferent design and casting. One rho-shaped pair (Pl. 18) is dominated by a large wolf, from whose tail, neck and head sprout griffon heads. The "antler" of griffon heads, like that on the Verkneudinsk horse, is far more reminiscent of a tree than of either a mane or a cervid's antler. The griffon heads curling down from the wolf's jaw and forming the lower border of the plaque suggest that whoever cast these plaques understood the imagistic requirements of a particular mythic tradition, but not the symbolic significance of those images in combination. The wolf here takes on the posture of a sacrificial animal and assumes the antlers of a stag, but the antlers have grown to the proportion of a tree and act like a vegetative border. Or perhaps these plaques imply that in its native mythic tradition, the stag or masked horse could become fused into (swallowed by) the wolf, and the bird-tipped antlers translated into a tree. This last transformation is strongly suggested by three other plaques in the Siberian Treasure. Two (Pl. 19) form a pair in each of which a tiger attacks a camel; the third joins the other two into an ungainly, but obviously related composition.29) On all three, an unmistakable tree grows up and over the camel's back and the tiger's head, appearing in that very position where previously could be found antlers, griffonated crests or strange antler/crest/tree combinations. This Siberian transformation of an image complex from mythically symbolic structure to the representation of anecdote in a landscape setting is brought to completion by the famous plaques representing mounted hunters in a landscape, or those repesenting horsemen and a "goddess" under a tree (Pl. 20).30)

In presenting these representative plaques from the Siberian Treasure, I have not wished to imply that order of presentation indicates a rigid chronological sequence. To attempt to establish a firm temporal progression with such unscientifically gathered material is obviously futile. It is possible, however, to suggest a conceptual order: an order which traces the transformation of a mythic tradition and image complex from a basis in archaic zoomorphic symbols to the development of images in landscape settings. Such a transformation parallels that suggested for the Pontic Scythian material: from an archaic triad of hieratic signs to the symbolic use of zoomorphic juncture and transformation, and further to the realistic representation of both animals and human beings.

A significant number of bronze and gold objects recovered from China's borderlands suggests immediate links between ancient peoples of those regions and the nomadic peoples responsible for the objects in the Siberian Treasure. Most of these plaques were not found scientifically and are most commonly referred to as Ordos or Mongolian in origin, frequently associated with the nomadic Hsiung-nu.31) A few recovered from scientific excavations tend to confirm the hypothesis that these objects — frequently far cruder in conception and execution than the best of the Siberian Treasure material — can be connected with the Hsiung-nu or with some other related nomadic group.32) Bronze plaques from Xi Cha Guo, Liao Ning33), are unquestionably related to the same mythic traditions which inspired several of the gold plaques in the Siberian Treasure. One rho-shaped plaque joins in combat a tiger with an eagle-like bird.34) Another, equally crude, directly recalls the Verkneudinsk plaque, except that here the horse's antlers are far more tree-like in appearance.35) Equally tree-like, albeit embellished with griffon heads, are the antlers on beaked horses from the Central Gobi36) and from an unknown site in Mongolia.37) All four objects derive from the Verkneudinsk paradigm, but the horses are more equine in appearance (despite the crude casting) and lack the superimposition of mythic animals found on the Verkneudinsk masked horse. A bronze plaque from Xi Cha Guo plainly recalls the wolf with tree-like crest from the Siberian Treasure (Pl. 18), but in this cruder (and probably later) version, the crest has become elongated into a good part of the border of the plaque, and it bears distinctly tendril-like characteristics.[38) Another gold plaque from Aluchaiden, Inner Mongolia, dated to the mid-late Warring States period, is composed of a crouching snouted wolf with huge griffon-headed antlers.[39) Two gold plaques from the Inner Mongolian site of Xi Guo Pan (late Warring States) indicate the increasing dissolution of motifs: hoofed animals with wolf or tiger-like bodies and great griffonated heads carry large antlers elaborated either with flamelike tines or with large spirals.[40)

The material recovered from the China borderlands, whether scientifically excavated or not, is clearly based on the same mythic traditions which inspired the large plaques of the Siberian Treasure. But within that general continuity can be determined some important gradations. The objects from Xi Cha Guo, Liaoning, and the horse and panther plaques from the Central Gobi and the Metropolitan Museum are closest in conception to those indicated in the Siberian Treasure. They nonetheless appear to be later in date, derivative: in the clumsiness of their conception and compositions, in the shallowness of the modeling, in the unmistakable identity of the victim as a horse (albeit masked), and in the loss of a hieratic formality which characterized all the best plaques of the Siberian Treasure.[41) On all the plaques, the spray of bird or griffon heads has lost almost all reference to antlers or mane. The Aluchaiden wolf plaque seems a late relative of the fine snouted wolf from the Siberian Treasure, a clumsy reflection of the original mythic image. The Xi Guo Pan plaques fuse wolves, tigers, horses and stags in a weak recollection of motifs and images powerfully indicated in the Siberian material. If these and related materials are unquestionably part of a Siberian mythic arena, however, the issue is more complex with several plaques from the Metropolitan and Los Angeles Museums (Pls. 22, 23).[42) On the two from the Metropolitan, in which a bear and a tiger crush a fallen horse-like creature, the decorative ridging of the horse's body and the dissolution of bird-headed antlers into a frame of curves and countercurves strongly suggests Chinese influence and decorative taste. This is no less true of the gilt-bronze belt plaque from the Musée de Mariemont[43) and of the unusually fine silvered bronze horse from the Metropolitan (Pl. 24). Whether this last group of bronzes is later than the others is impossible to say; but one may insist that the decorative rendering of motifs reveals far more influence from the Central Plain culture than from the Siberian tradition. Their rectangularity, the manner in which the composition lodges the center of attention well within the plaque rather than at one end, also betrays a tradition far more distant from that of the Siberian Treasure material than does the material from Xi Cha Guo. Yet whichever people were responsible for these rectangular plaques, they have consistently joined horse, stag, and bird-griffon into a sacrificial victim, while casting the tiger and the bear as primary predators. In the occasional ridging of the horses' bodies and in the rolling of the skin over the nose and the enlarged mouth may perhaps be seen a lingering echo of the Siberian crested and antlered wolf, as if wolf, horse and stag had become completely fused. This strange melding of three specific animals into one is confirmed by a curious plaque formerly in the C.T. Loo collection (Pl. 25). The main animal here is more wolf-like than anything else, its predatory nature confirmed by the small twisted animal under its great jaws. But this wolf, also, sports twisted antlers from which sprout small animal and griffon heads, and which take on a tree-like aspect in the region of the upper and left borders. Most remarkable are the three large beak-heads superimposed on the body of the wolf, just as animals were superimposed on the griffonated horse of the Verkneudinsk plaque. However distant this plaque from its mythic origin, and however poor the quality of its workmanship, it reflects a continued joining of animals in which the stag is fused into the wolf and the antlers transformed into a tree. If the Ak- Mechet stag with bird-headed antler tines represented the beginning of an iconographic saga, then this plaque surely represents its late phase. But what do these strange iconographic structures mean?

The key to the riddle of the stag with bird-headed antler tines, of stag fused with wolf, and of antler transformed into tree lies in the material from Pazaryk, from the Gorno Altai.44) Here the image of the stag (*qua* stag) reappears with renewed strength as both maral (Siberian wapiti) and as elk (moose).45) A carved wooden ensemble of a stag's head in a griffon's mouth (Pl. 34), from barrow 2, is only one example of the stag with griffon-headed antler tines from Pazaryk. But it clearly indicates patterns characterizing the Pazaryk material: whether on antler tines, or as individual objects, the eagle-like birds at Pazaryk are always griffonated, i.e. eared and/or crested; and the theme of the attack is ubiquitous throughout the Pazaryk remains. Three images tattooed on the arms of the man preserved in barrow 2 (Pls. 26, 27) take the form of animals with hoofed feet, horse-like bodies and huge beaked-heads, with fantastically elaborated antlers from which sprout small griffon heads. The whimsical appearance of these small heads contrasts with the anguished twist of the animals' bodies, vividly implying the ferocious weight of an unseen predator. But if the twist of their bodies recreates an attack, it is conceptual, formalized: the only visible animals capable of so crushing a horse-like body are two beasts with huge jaws, claws and long tails on the tattooed man's right arm and one on his right leg.46) Wings and griffon heads sprout from these animals and from the shoulders of a wolf on the man's right ankle (Pl. 27). It is these predatory beasts who are the conceptual cause of the stag/horses' writhing. The tattooed griffon-crested wolf and tiger parallel those from the plaques of the Siberian Treasure, just as the theme of the attack and the large beaked and griffonated horses recall the Verkneudinsk plaque. The tattoos on the man's left side and chest are only imperfectly visible.47) There is nonetheless an order to the distribution of images on his body. All the prey face towards the front of the man, while the predators on the right arm are arranged with reference to an animal victim.[48] On the man's chest, bodies of two predators also face towards an imaginary central axis.

The axial symmetry implied by the fragmentary tattoos is made explicit by elaborate horse trappings found in the Pazaryk barrows, including masks, bridles, mane crests, saddles, chest straps and tail sheaths.[49] These objects vary from one horse to another, as if the ornamentation of each animal was done on a completely individual basis. On bridles and saddles, however, specific themes do frequently reappear, and there is everywhere evident a continuity of style. The decorative carvings on the Pazaryk bridles include palmettes, addossed elk, goats and rams, eagle griffon heads, stags, saiga heads, wolf heads, rampant panthers, human heads and abstract disks. Frequently these elements are carved with obvious reference to animal predation: on the sixth bridle from Pazaryk no. 1, griffon heads are juxtaposed with the stylized carving of ram heads in the jaws of griffonated wolves (Pl. 28). From Pazaryk no. 4 comes a bridle cheekpiece terminating in a stag head within the jaws of a wolf (Pl. 29). Or animals and animal parts are juxtaposed so as to present the idea of an animal attack, much as did the strange beasts on the right arm of the tattooed man. In Pazaryk no. 3 was found one bridle, combining beautifully carved rams with great jawed wolves, while another joins a wolf head (or, possibly, a double wolf head) with elk head terminals.[50] The combination of predator and herbivore is not constant on all the bridles: one particularly fine example from Pazaryk no. 1 is completely ornamented with stags and elk, done with the characteristic Pazaryk indication of elegance and vitality (Pl. 28). Other bridles combine palmettes with stags and rams, clearly suggesting a correspondance between the antler or horn and the vegetable motif (Pls. 30, 31). The animals depicted on these objects, whether in full body or in stylized contracted body or head, conform to a specific pattern: predators include griffons, tigers/felines and wolves, while the victims include rams, goats, stags and elk. The latter are always horned or antlered (or were originally so equipped with leather inserts.)

The theme of predator and prey is repeated with powerful vitality on saddle blankets from barrows 1 and 2 (Pl. 32). It is the horse masks and head covers however, which offer startling indication of a transforming intention in the ornamentation of the horse. From barrow 1 comes a headdress that was meant to cover the whole head of the animal (Pl. 33), transforming it into a stag attacked by a feline. The mask is topped by fringed antlers of leather, while the frontal section is composed of blue fur with gold disks, all in the shape of a large cat. Another headdress from the same barrow transforms the horse's head into a combat between tiger (frontal section) and horned griffon (Pl. 38). In barrow 2 was found the remains of a horse crest that included an elaborate red leather eagle-griffon head,[51] while another horse crest from the same site included a leather goat's head surmounted by a large spread-winged bird,[52] the two animals recreating the attack of a bird-of-prey on a horned animal. Other objects from barrow 2 may have been parts of horse-crests or masks: a finely carved wooden stag head with elaborated antlers;[53] carved griffon heads;[54] an elegantly carved eagle-griffon head with a stag head in its mouth and griffons attacking geese on its sides;[55] and another wooden griffon head with a stag head in its mouth.[56] This stag head bears leather antlers, the tines of which terminate in long-necked griffon heads (Pl. 34), Finally, in barrow 5 was found a full mask of leather, crowned by a finely carved stag head surmounted by elaborate bird-tipped antlers.[57]

The horse masks and crests, like some of the Pazaryk bridle ornaments, and like the tattooed images on the man from barrow 2, present images in which are fused aspects of dissimilar animals. Horses become stags or stags with beaked-heads, the antlers of which turn into birds, or the horses become (are masked as) griffons savaging stags or as birds seizing goats. Such fusing of animals is also indicated by wooden headdresses with leather antlers that were mounted on the horses buried at Tuekta I (Pl. 35).[58] In the same burial were also found wooden horse-crests in the form of goat horns. Some of these horns appear as if transformed into a mountainous landscape, with each rounded ridge crowned by a small tiger (Pl. 36). Whether this connection was merely whimsical or a serious attempt to suggest either a highly stylized animal attack (tiger on wild goat) or tigers in a landscape setting, is not possible to say. An inversion of the usual feline/herbivore relationship appears in an applique from Tuekta, in which a tiger is equipped with elegantly elaborated antlers (Pl. 37). In the great barrow of Katanda, excavated by Radloff in 1865, were found small carved wooden horses with slots in their skulls, apparently intended to hold the ends of leather ears and antlers.[59] From the same burial comes a small wooden animal with stag-like body, a large beaked head, and slots for ears and/or antlers.[60]

This elaborate ornamenting of horses, the ubiquitous zoomorphic fusion and transformation and its startling indication in the horse masks and crests from Pazaryk raise obvious questions of meaning. N. Ia. Marr was the first to propose that the masks of barrow 1 indicated the transferance of an ancient cult of the stag onto the horse, and the subsequent desire to disguise the horse as an antlered cervid.[61] Kiselev believed that the stag masks indicated an earlier dependency on the reindeer for riding and pulling, a dependency which would be recalled at times of great ceremony and ritual.[62] It is even possible, according to Kiselev's theory, that by the time the Pazaryk burials were constructed, that earlier dependency on reindeer had been forgotten, but the tradition of masking horses as reindeer or maral continued throughout the Altaic region, melted into a general interest in zoomorphic representation and the theme of the animal attack. Griaznov accepts the theory that the masks in barrow 1 were intended to transform horse into stag: but he insists that the stag in these cases is the male reindeer, not the noble (red) stag (or wapiti), and that the transformation indicates the previous dependency of the Altaic horseman on reindeer for transportation.[63] On the basis of the material from barrow 1, Rudenko began by believing that the horse masks indicated the survival of an earlier religious dependency on deer. Subsequent excavations altered his position, however, and caused him to reject the notion that the horses were meant to be "dressed up" as cervids.[64] He based his changed opinion on the fact that among eight Pazaryk headdresses, only one has a stag head and only one other carries antlers. Rudenko's point is certainly well-founded. The Pazaryk headdresses by themselves do not support the opinions of Marr and Kiselev.[65] Yet it is striking that of the four intact headdresses, one causes the horse to become a vehicle for the attack of a tiger on a stag; another transforms the horse into a stag; a third causes the horse to carry the attack of a bird on a goat; and the fourth causes the horse's head to carry a battle between griffon and tiger — almost as if the two animals were disputing the horse itself. The other pieces associated with headdresses combine beasts of prey with horns or antlers and beasts of prey in combat. The images by which the horses were transformed, or for which they became vehicles, parallel the fantastic animals on the tattooed man and echo the stylized combats detailed on the Pazaryk bridles and saddle covers. In other words, whether the two horses from barrow 1 were meant to be disguised as stags or not, at least several of the horses were intended to appear as something other than themselves — some animal either antlered or horned — and the others were intended to serve as vehicles for the representation of a mortal combat. All the images and objects considered together, in their original (perhaps conjectured) location on the horse, (Pl. 38), indicate that the horse — masked and dressed — became the pole, the central axis, around which converged signs of a mythic sacrifice and its attendant transformation. With its perfectly symmetrical bridle and saddle trappings, with the images of almost all animals facing towards the chest and head of the horse, the animal's masked or crested head became the indicator of a significant center where there converged or culminated the theme of animal combat, within which a horned or antlered animal was sacrificed to a beast of predation. In that drama, reenacted on the body of the horse and carried by it into another world, the antlered cervid and the goat were the primary images of the sacrificed beast, and the eagle-griffon, wolf and feline were primary predators. But the Pazaryk material also suggests that predator and victim were not necessarily opposed. A wolf could become antlered or horned; and the stag savaged by a griffon could sprout griffon heads from its antlers. If, indeed, these are images of sacrifice, it is a sacrifice in which the victim and the sacrificer become joined and fused, as if the existence of one necessitated that of the other. This principle is clearly suggested by the motif of the beak-headed stag/horse on the tattooed man of barrow 2, or on a famous plaque from Katanda (Pl. 39).[66] There the animal joins stag and horse and transforms itself into a large-beaked bird at the moment of sacrifice, just as does the "horse" on the Verkneudinsk plaque, or the small "horse" on the large eagle/tiger/wolf plaque (Pls. 17, 15).[67]

Whether on the tattooed man or on the caprisoned horses from Pazaryk, horned and antlered animals are arranged in such a manner that their horns or antlers indicate the direction of an imaginary central axis. This fact confirms the manner in which the great plaques from the Siberian Treasure were meant to be worn or carried: so that the enlarged ends of the plaques (almost always coinciding with antlers, wings, or the point of the animal attack) indicated the direction of a mutual central axis, be it on horse or on man.[68] It follows that in the case of all known paired plaques, a common central axis was implied by wings, or by the griffon-headed crest on a wolf-like creature, or by griffon-headed antlers or trees.[69]

Returning now to the larger subject of the stag with bird-headed antler tines, we find that a series of images from the Siberian Treasure, from Pazaryk and from the Mongolia-Ordos region indicates that a major transformation occurred in the basic motif of cervid antlers between the late fifth century and the third century B.C. On the beak-headed stag/horses of the tattooed man from Pazaryk no. 2, as well as on the carved plaque from Katanda, the antlers are thoroughly recognizable as such, despite their griffon-headed tines. The same is true of the antlers on all the horse headdresses from Pazaryk. However fantastic the fusing of stags, horses and birds, the images remain rooted in a visually realistic vocabulary. By contrast, the growth on the animal of the Verkneudinsk plaque (Pl. 17) is more suggestive of tree branches than of antlers. No less ambiguous is the curious spray of griffon heads around the neck and head of the wolf-like creature on two of the later plaques (Pl. 18). And in two of the tiger-camel plaques (Pl. 19), a tree has frankly taken over where an antler or crest would earlier have been, transforming the earlier mythic combat into a realistic combat between animals, within a landscape setting. By the time the tiger-camel plaques were cast, something had obviously been lost, some vital connection between antlers, birds and the suggestion of a tree, so that the vague reference to antlers (as found in the Verkneudinsk plaque) was finally discarded, and the tree — *qua* tree — embraced as the primary motif. Nothing else can explain the abrupt appearance, here, of a landscape setting; or its appearance and curious joining of two tigers and camels in one plaque.[70] A similar visual disintegration of antlers into trees is indicated by the Mongolian or Ordos plaques showing horse-like creatures savaged by wolves, tigers and bears. On all the plaques from that region, the reference both to antlers and to trees has become weak, incoherent: sprouting from the head of the savaged animal, the antlers wander carelessly into a bordering function, reminiscent only of tendrils (Pls. 22–25). It is no accident, perhaps, that in those plaques the visual center usually coincides with the head of one of the predators rather than with the antler-tree. Like the double tiger/camel/tree plaque from the Siberian Treasure, these from Mongolia and Ordos dwell on motifs which had been significant in the past, but which by the late Scytho-Siberian period had apparently lost their original meaning. Antler, tree and even central axis lost place to the decorative values of the animal attack. The very disintegration of the horse-like animals in the Mongolian material and the modeled emphasis placed on the predators' heads and claws serve to shift our attention from victim to predator, from the concept of sacrifice to the fact of predation; from the antler-tree's promise of growth to the act of destruction.

Fragmentary as is the Siberian and Far Eastern material and as difficult as its dating may be, it does permit a number of tentative conclusions. The Pazaryk material and material from the Altaic burials of Tuekta and Katanda present a body of firmly connected styles, motifs, compositions and contexts within a reliable, if relative, chronological order.71) By joining this body of material to that from the Siberian Treasure and to that recovered from the Mongolia-Ordos region, the following propositions emerge: 1) that the stag or antlered cervid was a primary symbolic motif in early Scytho-Siberian art; 2) that its antlers were a symbol for trees, and for the growth of trees; 3) that this is made explicit by the frequent appearance of antler tines terminating in bird or griffon heads; 4) that the horned goat or ram could replace the stag in the original symbolic system; 5) that there was a significant connection between the stag (or its substitute) and predators, in which the apparent relation took the form of sacrifice but in which the actual relation involved the joining of predator with victim; 6) that the horse could serve as a vehicle for the ritual reiteration of that primary mythic joining of predator, stag and tree; 7) that in the ritual reiteration, the concept of an axial center was of paramount importance, conceptually coinciding with the central axis of man or horse and with antlers, horns or crest; 8) that the griffon is a reflection of the overlay of foreign (certainly Achaemenid)72) influence on the native motif of the bird-of-prey; 9) that the hesitant definition of the stag-horse is a reflection of a gradual transformation that had reshaped the original archaic motif; 10) that the disintegration of antler into tree or wandering tendril, like the appearance of men and animals in landscape settings, documents the final loss of archaic motifs and the loss of meaning accorded archaic mythic patterns; and 11) that the appearance of men in landscape settings — whether in the plaques from the Siberian Treasure, or in those from Mongolia and the Ordos, reflects the displacement of the earlier mythic traditions in favor of formulations in which human heros are of primary importance, both visually and conceptually.73)

From the transformations described above emerges a symbolic structure in which the stag or its substitute is joined to the tree, or central axis, through its antlers. Fused in, or "eaten by" a predator (eagle, eagle-griffon, wolf or feline, its sacrifice takes place at the base of the tree and is ritually reiterated by the dressing and masking of horses. This symbolic structure illuminates the symbolic meaning and conceptual context of the Pontic Scythian stags. There, in the gold stags, panthers and birds-of-prey from Kelermes, Kostromskaya, Litoy and Ulski Aul, one sees beginnings which have now been almost totally lost from the Siberian arena.74) It is possible to hypothesize that in the formal juxtaposition of panther and stag (Kelermes gorytus cover), of stag and bird (Kelermes sword sheath), or of goat and beak-head (Ulski poletop) is indicated an archaic joining of predator and prey into the eternal sign and structure of sacrifice. The tree-like elaboration of the Kostromskaya stag's antlers intimates at a mythic fusing of symbolic forms even in that archaic period,75) a fusing which became visually explicit in the gold plaques from Zhurovka, from Il'ichevo, and in the stags from Ak-Mechet and Axjutintsy. Just as the heads of the animals became more realistic, so their antlers became more explicitly the trees in which lodged the birds of heaven. At about the same time, however, or a little later in the fifth century, the theme of the animal attack also became more explicit: the beak-heads superimposed on the shoulders of the Axjutintsy, Garchinovo and Dubovaya stags formally joined predator to prey as surely as did the second Il'ichevo plaque, or the lion/stag triangular plate from Seven Brothers. Other than through these stylized attacks, however, the literal joining of predator and prey was infrequent in the fifth century. It became common only in the fourth century, in such objects as those from Solokha, Kul Oba and Chertomlyk. But at the very time that the explicit animal attack became common, several major changes occurred in image types: the lion totally displaced the panther; the eagle was displaced by the eagle-griffon; and the stag with bird-headed antler tines disappeared. Greek influences banished that most Scythian of beasts, while transforming the once archaic, formal, *northern* images into the animals of Greek landscape, epic and myth. It is therefore no surprise that during the fourth century human images made their appearance, quickly establishing their dominant position in the Scythian pantheon. Where stags or goats remained, they became the eternal victims of savage attacks by Greek lions or Greek griffons.

Mircea Eliada has reminded us that although the Central and North Asiatic symbolism of the center (with its figuration through poles, ladders and trees) may be related to Indo-Iranian and even Mesopotamian cosmological sysems, the symbolism of the center itself is found throughout primitive societies to such a degree that it can in no way be considered to have derived, always and everywhere, from one source.76) Whether taking the form of tree, mountain, ladder or pole, the Center is a universal means of organizing significant space in preliterate societies.77) This understanding has been significantly elaborated on by V. N. Toporov, in his discussion of the World Tree as vertical structure.78) Toporov considers the World Tree as the structure of hierarchy by which post-paleolithic humans established the distinction between chaos and order.79) Indeed, the World Tree *is* order, its very being *as extension* representing an ideal organizing system, modeling both static and dynamic aspects of existence. On an imagistic level, the World Tree is that system of hierarchies which is analogous to bird/heaven at the top; hoofed animal at the middle range; and fish/snake (chthonic images) at the base.[80] Most critical to this discussion is Toporov's distinction between art of what he calls the World Tree epoch — of the post-paleolithic world — and art of the anthropomorphic epoch: in the former, art is charged with religious signification, while in the latter its focus is human events and human concerns. In other words, when human beings became involved with their own realm of being, rather than with that of suprahuman powers, the concept of the World Tree as organizing principle lost its meaning.

In discussing the Chertomlyk vase and Tolstaîa Mogila pectoral, D. S. Raevskii and E. E. Kuz'mina have introduced the argument that the representations here, as on other Scythian objects, must be interpreted in light of Indo-Iranian traditions and mythology, of which the themes of sacrifice and the tree of life are integral parts. Kuz'mina interprets the upper frieze of the Chertomlyk vase as representing the celestial sphere, and specifically the New Year, when the constellation Leo (presumably represented here by griffons) "swallows" the Pliades and Cassiopeia, traditionally represented, according to Kuz'mina, by the bull or the stag. The middle zone, with its representations of men and horses, refers to the annual horse-sacrifice at the time of the king's ascension to the throne; and the lower zone, comprising the body of the vessel and covered with flowering tendrils in which are found two birds, represents the tree of life and fertility.[81] Kuz'mina draws her evidence from Vedic hymns, and from a variety of Ancient Near Eastern sources.[82] While generally supporting Kuz'mina's interpretation, Raevskii sees the lower zone's vegetable forms as representing, as on the Tolstaîa Mogila pectoral, the overall organizing power of the world and of myth, embodied in the tree of life but not necessarily associated, as Kuz'mina would have it, with the underworld.[83] According to both scholars, therefore, the vase and the pectoral reflect an Indo-Iranian mythic tradition in which are joined animal sacrifice (literal and figurative), eternal life, and royal succession. The complexities of the mythological traditions referred to by Raevskii and Kuz'mina are too great to untangle here, for they involve long-debated interpretations of both Vedic and Avestan material, with the latter's reflection in the thorny problems of Mithraic traditions. If, however, the lovely Hellenistic tendril on the vase and the pectoral — as well as those on several other fourth century objects — is indeed intended to be a symbol for the tree of life, then the order of images is puzzling, particularly since in the preceeding epoch of Scythian art the order of appearance of ruminant, predator, and antler/tree was constant and structurally logical. In the vase from Chertomlyk, the tree symbol is at the bottom, the reference to royal succession in the middle, and the sacrifice at the top; while in the pectoral, the sacrifice is at the bottom, the tree in the middle, and the scene involving figures at the top. Rather than being a map of the Scythians' significant space, as Raevskii has argued, the pectoral — like the vase — represents the submergence of an archaic symbolic system by an overwhelming interest in human events. The vines and tendrils of the fourth century material are no longer specific images of the tree of life or World Tree but rather echoes of a distinctly Hellenizing taste. Their reflection of Vedic or Avestan traditions is, if anything, obscure, although they may contain distant references to general Indo-Iranian traditions.84)

The human figures, tendrils, and realistic stags being savaged by naturalistic griffons on the Chertomlyk vase and Tolstaîa Mogila pectoral contain the essential key to the problem of why the stag with bird-headed antler tines had essentially disappeared by the time human images, regularly repeated, appeared in any of the Scytho-Siberian arenas. Neither decorative nor whimsical, that curious fusion of herbivore and tree validated a cosmological order rooted in ancient Eurasian mythic formulations. The tree as center; the stag as indicator of that center; and the archaic sacrifice as sign of vital transformation: these esssential congruencies were severely eroded by the fourth-third centuries, weakened by the emergence of a concern with images of human heroes and military power. They survived only in late Mithraic and then Christian traditions, or — more clearly — in the beliefs of several Siberian peoples.85) As a literal image, the stag with bird-headed antler tines was short-lived; but its existence and permutations clarify the meaning and conceptual joining of zoomorphic images in the archaic Scytho-Siberian period: when stag or goat implied bird and predator; when elaborated antlers implied the full branches of the World Tree; when the coiled or crouched panther referred to the postures of predation; and when the fact of predation — drawn from the phenomenal world — signified the transformative power of sacrifice.

NOTES

[1] M. I. Artamonov, *The Splendor of Scythian Art* (New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), Pl. 72.

[2] The dating of materials from the regions of Siberia, Mongolia and the Ordos remains difficult, in large measure because most pieces were chance finds or based on debatable relative dating systems (as in, e.g., the case of Pazaryk). This paper does not permit a thorough reconsideration of dating systems currently in use. It will, however, reflect a careful weighing of the datings offered by a number of scholarly sources: Western, Soviet and Chinese.

[3] Emma C. Bunker, *et al.*, *"Animal Style" Art from East to West* (New York: The Asia Society, Inc., 1970), pl. 15. The history and dating of the Ziwiye Treasure is notoriously complex, just as its origins are uncertain. For discussion of the relationship of Scythians, Medes and other peoples to the Treasure, see: Edith Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1965), pp. 123–136; Roman Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (New York: Golden Press, 1964), pp. 98–125; Karl Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1967), pp. 207–235, *passim*. It should be noted that Soviet scythologists generally accept a date for the Ziwiye Treasure of late seventh century B.C. and find in it a reflection of very early Scythian motifs and styles. See, e.g., Artamonov, "Proiskhozdenie skifskovo iskusstva," *Sovetskaîa Arkheologiîa* (SA), 1968: 4, pp. 27–45.

[4] See, e.g., Guitty Azarpay, *Urartian Art and Artifacts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), fig. 8: the stylized fringing of a bull and lion, from the bronze shield of Sarduri II (from Karmir-blur); figs. 13 and 14: bronze strips from Zakim and Karmir-blur with ribbon patterns; and pls. 47, 48: bronze candelabrum from Toprak-kale, with frontal panther heads on the legs.

[5] Ghirshman, *Arts of Ancient Iran*, pls. 142 and 147.

[6] Artamonov, *Scythian Art*, pls. 1, 6–8.

[7] *Ibid.*, pls. 9, 10.

[8] The term "zoomorphic juncture" here refers to the joining of the parts of different animals into one organic whole. "Zoomorphic superimposition" refers to the laying of one whole animal onto the body of another. In the very early period of Scythian art both phenomena are well illustrated by small bone objects found in such early burials as Seregoz, Temir Gora and Kelermes in which are combined birds, rams and possibly felines on bridle ornaments and psalia terminals. See, e.g., Gregory Borovka, *Scythian Art* (New York: Paragon Books, 1967), pl. 32; and V. A. Il'inskaia, "Nekotorye motivy ranne-skifskova zverinovo stilîa," *SA*, 1965, 1, pp. 86–107.

[9] The list of scholars who have considered the problem of the origin of Scytho-Siberian art is long, including such noted figures as Artamonov, Terenozhkin, Piotrovskii and Raevskii, among others. Few, however, have focussed on the critical transformation of Pontic Scythian art from its earliest, archaic formulation to that of the later, fifth-fourth century formulations. In a recent paper, Raevskii describes the appearance of what I here call "archaic images" as a retreat from "inadequate" human representations in order to create a more efficient symbolic system, based on a "zoomorphic code." ("Antropomorfnye i zoomorfnye motivy v repetuare ranneskifskovo iskusstva," in: *Voprocy proiskhozhdeniîa i khronologii skifskoi kul'tury, Arkheologicheskii Sbornik*, Vol. 23 (M, 1983), pp. 8–15. Il'inskaia has touched on the problem

of image transformation and its relationship to metal-working techniques (V. A. Il'inskaia, "Obraz koshach'evo khishnika v ranneskifskom iskusstve," *SA*, 1971, 2, pp. 64–84).

[10]) For reproduction and references, see V. G. Petrenko, *Pravoberezh'e srednovo Pridneprov'ia v V–III. vv. do n.e.*, Arkheologiia SSSR (A – SSSR), D 1–4 (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk (AN), 1967), pl. 16, fig. 6, p. 92; Artamonov, *Scythian Art*, fig. 32.

[11]) Borovka, pl. 3 A.

[12]) Bird heads abound on this scabbard cover. On the upper end, two beak-heads confront above a palmette, while on the lower part of the sheath an eagle-griffon with fish tail is enlaced by, and appears about to swallow a long snake. See *ibid.*, pls. 323–325. For a discussion of this and a related sword from Solokha, see: A. P. Mantsevich, "Paradnii mech iz kurgana Solokha," in *Drevnie Frakitzy v severnom prichernomory* (Moscow: AN, 1969).

[13]) Bunker, pl. 36; *From the Lands of the Scythians* (The Metropolitan and Los Angeles County Museums of Art, 1975), pp. 158–160.

[14]) The origin of the griffon in Scythian art — whether from Greece or from Persia — has not been resolved, nor can it be considered in the context of this paper. The position taken here, however, is that the fifth century Scythian griffon is directly imported from Greek models primarily by means of Greek ceramic imports. For a discussion of griffons, including those in Scythian art, see Guitty Azarpay, "Some Classical and Near Eastern Motifs in the Art of Pazaryk," *Artibus Asiae* (AA), XXII, 4 (1959), pp. 313–339; N. N. Pogrebovoî, "Grifon i evo izobrazenie v iskusstve severnovo Prichernomor'ia v epokhu grecheskoî kolonizatsii," Institut Arkheologii (n.d.); G.A. Pugachenkova, "Grifon v antichnom i srednevekovom iskusstve Srednei Azii," *SA*, 1959, 2, pp. 70–84.

[15]) Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, p. 47, fig. 14. To this might be very loosely related the silver beaker from the Metropolitan Museum, said to be "Thraco-Getian," and dated to the late fifth century B.C. (Bunker, pl. 139). This piece lacks the powerful representation of strange zoomorphs for which the Garchinovo matrix is remarkable.
The large bird-head on the shoulder of the Garchinovo falling stag relates it to the plaques from Dubovaya and Axjutintsy, mentioned above; the lion's "antler" is strikingly similar to that on the stag from the Zhurovka gold plate, fig. 6; and the combination of lion and antlers finds a rare parallel in a gold plaque from Elizavetovskaya, in the Don delta (Borovka, pl. 20B). N.b., also, fig. 37.

[16]) The only exception of which I am currently aware is a bronze plaque, said to have been found in the Kuban area and dating to the fourth century B.C., on which appears a thoroughly attenuated and confusing group of stag heads with antlers transformed into beak-heads (Jettmar, p. 35, fig. 11).

[17]) The transformation of the archaic Scythian triad into the Hellenized triad of lion, griffon and horse will be examined more closely in a paper presently under preparation.

[18]) N. A. Onaiko, *Antichnyi import v Pridneprovye i Pobuzh'e v IV – II vv. do n.e.*, *A* – SSSR, D – 27 (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), pl. XIX.

[19]) Artamonov, *Scythian Art*, pls. 157–159.

[20]) *Ibid.*, pls. 162–176.

21) *Ibid.*, pls. 183 and 185; and Onaîko, 1970, pl. XXII, 423. The same combination of lions, griffons and stags is seen on objects from Kul Oba where it frequently serves as a foil to scenes involving human figures. See, e.g., the gold bracelets with scenes of griffons attacking stags; silver vases with representations of lions and griffons attacking horses, goats and a boar; and a gold scabbard cover with the main frieze composed of lions and griffons attacking a stag (Artamonov, *Scythian Art*, pls. 208–209, 236–238, 241–246). On the scabbard, two archaic beak heads confront at the hilt end of the frieze.

22) The best reproductions available in an English-language publication are those in the exhibition catalogue, *From the Lands of the Scythians*, pls. 31–33. For the excavation report on Tolstaîa Mogila, with discussion of the pectoral, see: B. N. Mosolevskii, "Kurgan Tolstaîa mogila bliz r. Ordzonikidze po Ukraine," *SA*, 1972/III, pp. 268–308.

23) S. I. Rudenko, *Sibirskaîa Kollektsîa Petra I*, A-SSSR, D3-9 (Moscow-Leningrad: AN, 1962). For a review of the Treasure, in English, and of its problems in dating, see Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 179–197. The Treasure includes many more objects than will be referred to here, including a large number of small rings, earrings, etc. Although the total group of objects does not form a coherent stylistic whole, and although it varies from images as archaic as a coiled gold panther (Rudenko, *Sibirskaîa Kollektsîa*, pl. VI/1) to others indicative of emerging narrative concerns (e.g., *ibid.*, pls. 1/5; VII/1,7), a great many plaques in the Treasure reveal patterns significant for this study.

24) The very weight of these plaques — some over 500 gm. — precluded their having been carried on a fabric backing. Their size — up to and even larger than 7″ in length — means that if they were mounted on a man's belt, it had to have been the belt of a very large person.

25) Rudenko, pl. IV, 4.

26) Similar wolves, with curled snouts and zoomorphic headed crests, can be found on a bridle plaque and a bracelet in the Treasure (*ibid.*, pls. IV/1 and X/1,2).

27) *Ibid.*, pls. III/5 and V/5. Tigers with griffonated tails can also be found on several torques in the Siberian Treasure (*ibid.*, pls. X/3 and XVI/1–3).

28) Rudenko calls this plaque one of a pair, this one being the "right side," (*ibid.*, p. 42). I am not, however, aware of any surviving paired plaque.

29) *Ibid.*, pl. V/1. The tigers on all three plaques lack the appended griffon heads of other tiger images in the Treasure. Indeed, the images of animals and trees in this group are rooted in objective reality. The only enigmatic aspect of these plaques is the combination of the forest dwelling tiger and the camel, native to open steppe land.

30) The plaques of horsemen and hunters in landscape settings must certainly be considered as the conceptual successors to the objects being considered here and as indicative of the last phase in the development of narrative structures in Scytho-Siberian art.

31) The steppe empire of the nomadic Hsiung-nu emerged in the second century B.C. and disappeared by the end of the second century A.D. At its height it stretched from the southern Gobi to the region of Lake Baikal. On the most important Hsiung-nu excavations, at Noin-ula, see: S. I. Rudenko, *Kultura Khunnov i noinulinskie kurgani* (Moscow-Leningrad: Nauk, 1962). On the general relationship of the Hsiung-nu to the Scytho-Siberian world, see Jettmar, *op. cit.*, chapter IX and *passim*. Large collections of this

material have been published by J. G. Anderson ("Hunging Magic in the Animal Style," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 1932, no. 4, pp. 221–317), A. Salmony (*Sino-Siberian Art in the Collection of C. T. Loo* (Paris, 1933), and Emma C. Bunker (in *Ancient Bronzes, Ceramics and Seals*, edited by Glenn Markoe (Los Angeles, 1981), *inter alia*.

[32]) Since Chinese scholars are not in agreement regarding the identity of the non-Hsiung-nu nomadic peoples in China's borderlands, clear identities cannot be indicated here. All excavations which will be cited are, however, confidently associated with nomadic peoples on the borderlands of what was the Central Plain culture (i.e., the culture of Shang and Chou China).

[33]) *Wen Wu*. 1960, 8–9, pp. 25–35.

[34]) *Ibid.*

[35]) *Ibid.*

[36]) V. V. Volkov, *Bronzovyî i ranniî zeleznyî vek severnoî Mongolii* (Ulan Bator, 1967), fig. 21, 1.

[37]) Emma C. Bunker, C. Bruce Chatwin, Ann R. Farkas, *"Animal Style" Art From East to West* (New York: The Asia Society, 1970), pl. 124. A plaque which is broken but evidently continues the same imagistic tradition is in the Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Fig. 21).

[38]) Asimilar bronze plaque, said to be from the Minusinsk region, has been published by S. V. Kiselev (*Drevnîaîa istorîîa iuznoî Sibiri* (Moscow: AN, 1951), pl. XXI, 18). An almost identical mirror-image gilt bronze plaque from the Alice and Nasli Heerameneck Collection (Bunker, "*Animal Style*" *Art*, p. 107, fig. 15) indicates that a large griffonated head may sprout from the shoulders of wolves in less clearly published pieces. The Heerameneck plaque is now believed, however, to be a modern fake (personal communication from Emma C. Bunker). A possibly later and somewhat sinicized version of the image can be found on a bronze plaque said to be from Inner Mongolia, also in the Heeramaneck Collection (*ibid.*, pl. 123) A late version of the wolf with griffonated crest and snouted head can be seen on the applique felt carpet from the Hsiung-nu burial at Noin-ula (Rudenko, *Kultura Khunnov*, pls. XLII, XLIII.

[39]) *Kaogu*, 1980, 4.

[40]) *Wen Wu*, 1980, 7.

[41]) This is also true of a bronze plaque in the Pomerance Collection (Bunker, pl. 125) which is obviously closely related back to one of the great Siberian Treasure plaques (Fig. 15). Here, however, the tiger has become a panther-like animal, the victim of the attack is quite obviously either a horse or wild goat, and the bird heads on the cat's shoulder and tail are highly abstracted.

Although necessarily simplified here, problems of chronology and derivation of style and image with regard to the Mongolia-Ordos bronzes are very complex. Coming as they do from a vast region between the ancient Chinese states and South Siberia and Central Asia, these bronzes reflect the ebb and flow of peoples, mythic traditions, and taste. The vast majority of so-called Mongolian or Ordos bronzes are of uncertain date and origin. With increasing Chinese excavations in China's borderlands, however, it is to be hoped that chronology will become clearer. From that may follow a clarification of the relationship of this material to that from South Siberia, and a clarification of imagistic meaning. For the time being, I continue to reject an insistence on a search for origins either in Shang-Chou bronze culture or in the

Karasuk-Tagar arena. I believe that this whole region of the eastern steppe must be seen as a continuity, the edges of which *might* manifest increased influence from a Chinese or South Siberian tradition.

[42] The Los Angeles plaque is reproduced in Bunker, "*Animal Style*" *Art*, fig. 17.

[43] *Ibid.*, fig. 16.

[44] Primary sources on the Pazaryk kurgans include: M. P. Griaznov, *Pervyî pazyrykskiî kurgan (Leningrad: Ermitage Museum, 1950); and Sergei I. Rudenko, Frozen Tombs of Siberia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970). A short but comprehensive discussion of the Altai burials in English may be found in Jettmar, pp. 82–140.

[45] The maral, like the wapiti, is a subspecies of the genus *Cervus elaphus*, best known in Western Europe as the red deer and in the Soviet Union as the noble deer. The animal known in the United States as a "moose" is an Old World elk, *Alces alces*. In the context of this paper, it will be referred to by its proper name, elk. See: E. Jacobson, "Siberian Roots of the Scythian Stag Image," *Journal of Asian History*, Vol. 17 (1983), pp. 117–120.

[46] Other predatory beasts originally appeared on both sides of his chest, but are now almost illegible. Unquestionably, other images have also disappeared. See *ibid.*, pp. 110–112 and figs. 51, 52.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

[48] No information is available regarding images that might have been juxtaposed with the wolf on the man's right foot. It is possible that the back of his leg and foot was too damaged to be commented upon.

[49] Rudenko includes a detailed discussion of all the horse trappings in his study of the Pazaryk barrows (*Frozen Tombs*, chapter 6). Refferring specifically to the rich trappings from barrow 1, Rudenko has pointed to the "absence of any correspondence between the decorative motifs used in the bridles and saddles." *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[50] *Ibid.*, pls. 99, 100. The inserted leather antlers are now missing.

[51] *Ibid.*, pl. 167B.

[52] *Ibid.*, pl. 122.

[53] *Ibid.*, pl. 136G.

[54] *Ibid.*, pl. 136H, I.

[55] *Ibid.*, pl. 141 A, B, D.

[56] *Ibid.*, pl. 142 D.

[57] *Ibid.*, pl. pls. 118 F and 121 C, D; and p. 326. According to Rudenko, this headdress gives evidence of having been much used, thus suggesting that it and others were ceremonial, used during the liftetime of the deceased and then buried with him. No intact horse headdresses were found in barrow 3, but Rudenko

surmises that two carved bird heads may have been attached to head crests. Leather antlers were found with one of the heads, as well as the leather figure of a wolf-like monster. Rudenko believes that this monster image may have served as the cheek piece connected to the antlered bird-head crest. From barrow 4 comes what Rudenko calls a "horse finial," also perhaps attached either to a horse's head or to its chest, in the image of a huge jawed wolf head with attached leather horns. See Rudenko, pls. 182, 113 B and C; and figs. 96 and 97. For a complete list of all the objects found in the horse burials, and their combinations, see *ibid.*, pp. 311 ff.: "Appendix: Inventory of articles found in the barrows."

[58] Rudenko, *Kultura nacelenii͡a centr'alnovo Altai͡a v skiftskoe vremi͡a* (Moscow-Leningrad, AN: 1960), pl. LXXI.

[59] Jettmar, "The Altai Before the Turks," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, XXIII (1951), p. 190. (See also, Kiselev, 1951, pp. 341–42.)

[60] Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs*, pl. 140 F.

[61] See Griaznov, p. 90, note 51.

[62] Kiselev, p. 375.

[63] Griaznov, p. 85.

[64] Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs*, p. 185.

[65] There is nonetheless much evidence — aside from that of the headdresses — to indicate that the society responsible for the Pazaryk burials may indeed have been reindeer dependent at an earlier time, if not then. See my "Siberian Roots," *passim*.

[66] This object offers a clear parallel with the imagery on the Verkneudinsk plaque, although here the body of the stag/horse is almost wolf-like in form.

[67] The above detailed principles of sacrifice, transformation and renewal, all organized by reference to a central axis, are graphially detailed in the richly ornamented hood of the man buried at Issyk kurgan in Semireiche. Although the Issyk finds lie within the Saka orbit of the Scytho-Siberian world, thus requiring special consideration, the ordering of elements on the man's hood parallels the structural basis here proposed for the Siberian materials. On the front of the hood, two golden horses emerge from the winged backs of horse-like goats (or horses with goat horns). On either side of the hood, winged felines juxtaposed with leaping goats reaffirm the theme of symbolic predation — here within a landscape setting — directed by reference to an imaginary center. Figures of birds on trees, great gold wings, and the gold figure of an argali at the top of the hood confirm the importance of winged-ness within the cycle of conflict and transformation. Richer, perhaps, and more complete than the materials remaining at Pazaryk, the Issyk finds nonetheless demonstrate a striking parallelism. lending support to the theory of underlying unity across the vast reaches of the Scytho-Siberian world. The full report of the Issyk finds have been published by that site's principle excavator, K. A. Akishev: *Kurgan Issyk* (Moscow, 1978). Akishev and his colleagues were able to reconstruct the elaborate boots, caftan and hood worn by the man buried there with a high degree of reliability (But see below, note 69.) The question of the dating of this burial and the full significance of the images and their ordering on the hood and caftan will be considered elsewhere.

[68] This explains the fact that all the plaques from the Siberian Treasure, whether still paired or not, are more satisfactorily viewed if seen from the smaller to the larger end, or with the larger end as compositional culmination. This theory of placement and viewing is confirmed by two of the latest plaques in the Treasure which show a mounted hunter after a wild boar in a complex landscape. See Rudenko, *Sibirskaîa kollektsiîa*, pls I/5 and IV/5.

[69] There are a few exceptions to this rule, including the pair of plaques showing tigers savaging horses (*ibid.*, pl. VIII/5, 6) and plaques depicting snakes and boar or wolves in combat (*ibid.*, pls. I/1 and IX/1,2). A direct contradiction to this principle is found in the strange, even inexplicable single plaque with a double-bodied tiger and camels, under trees (*ibid.*, pl. V/1). The explanation for this exception lies in the fact, I believe, that it is so "late" (*vide* the landscape setting, the corruption of the tiger) that the earlier principles of image and order no longer had any particular meaning. The plaques showing two horsemen and a "goddess" under a tree (Fig. 20) confirm the tree as the visual and conceptual center of the joined plaques, just as a number of rectangular plaques showing dragons confronting around a central axis confirm the tree as that axis, visually and conceptually. The finds from Issyk mound offer a possible and puzzling contradiction to the principle of bilateral symmetry in the arranging of large gold or bronze plaques. The belt of the man buried in the Issyk mound had three large cast gold plaques and thirteen small ones (Akishev, pl. 68). The large plaques take the form of recumbent elk with exaggeratedly long throat-bell and elaborated antlers (*Ibid.*, pl. 100), two facing to the right, one facing to the left. According to the excavator's reconstruction, one of the plaques should be placed directly over the center of the man's stomach, over the central border of his caftan, with the other two juxtaposed on either side. This placement contradicts that proposed in this paper for paired plaques in general; but the appearance of three plaques, rather than two, already indicates a situation at odds with the general rule here put forward. There are at least two responses to this problem. The first is that these recumbent cervid plaques are not equal in importance to those which have been found in pairs: they were rather meant as larger versions, in a sense, of the thirteen small elk-head plaques decorating the rest of the belt. The second response is that the reconstruction is not correct. On plate 10 of Akishev's report, a photograph of the excavated but as yet undisturbed surface of the man's skeleton, two gold plaques are clearly arranged as mirror images on either side of the central border. The third plaque is not visible (although the photograph is admittedly unclear). This suggests that only two large plaques were used on the front of the belt, or one on one side and two, as mirror images of the first, on the other, thereby allowing a degree of bilateral symmetry around the central axis.

[70] See note 68, above.

[71] See Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 134–35; Griaznov, *Southern Siberia* (Geneva: Nagel Publ., 1969), pp. 131–198; Rudenko, *Kultura naseleniîa*, pp. 162–172.

[72] It is unquestionably Achaemenid influence, rather than influcence from Greece, which introduced this animal and the theme of the animal into nomadic art of South Siberia. On this problem see: Azarpay, "Some Classical and Near Eastern Motifs in the Art of Pazaryk"; and S. I. Rudenko, "The Mythological Eagle, the Gryphon, the Winged Lion, and the Wolf in the Art of the Northern Nomades," *AA*, 2 (1958), pp. 101–122.

[73] See M. P. Griaznov, "Drevneishie pamiatniki geroicheskovo epokha narodov iuznoî Sibiri," *Arkheologiceskiî Sbornik*, 3 (1961), pp. 7–31. The foregoing propositions, with their implied assignation of a chronological order to the material from Pazaryk, the Siberian Treasure, and from Mongolia-Ordos, are supported by stylistic and even technical considerations as convincingly as they are by considerations

of motif and composition. For some discussion of these matters, see Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes*, pp. 189–197.

Of unquestionably late date are plaques said to be from the Ordos, which include fighting horses or wild asses, or plaques with two wrestling in a landscape setting, their two horses looking on (e.g., Salmony, pl. XXI/1 and 2, pl. XXV/6 and 7). Also late in date are two other bronze plaques reproduced by Salmony (pl. XXI/1 and 4), which support the theory articulated here that the antler, the bird-headed crest and the eagle or griffon's wing became a tree, used as such in anecdotal plaques involving human representation.

[74] Indications of an archaic Scytho-Siberian style in Siberia are limited to just a few finds: the gold foil images of curled panthers found by Adrianov in 1911 under a boulder surrounding a seventh-sixth century B.C. kurgan on the Maiemir steppe, Altai (Rudenko, *Kultura naseleniîa*, fig. 3); finds from the very early kurgan of Arzhan, Tuva, which included bronze poletops with mountain sheep and a magnificent coiled bronze panther (Griaznov, *Arzhan: Tsarskiî kurgan ranneskifskovo vremeni* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1980); and finds from the East Kazakstan kurgan at Chiliktin, including recumbent stags and coiled panthers (S. S. chernikov, "Zolotoî kurgan chiliktinskoî doliny," *Kratkie Soobshcheniîa Instituta Arkheologii*, 98 (1964).

[75] Raevskii and Perevodchikova have drawn attention to the probable identity of horns or antlers and the World Tree, pointing to Vedic traditions as the ultimate authority for that congruence (D. S. Raevskii and E. V. Perevodchikova, "Eshche raz o naznachenii skifskikh navershii," in *Sredniaîa Aziîa i ee sosedi v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (Moscow, 1981) pp. 42–52. The context for their argument is a discussion of the symbolic function of poletops in Scythian burials. In this provokative if problematical essay, the authors consider the poletops crowned by stags, goats and birds as clear indicators of the Indo-Iranian World Tree, although they do not mention the Scythian image of the stag with bird-headed antler-tines; nor do they consider non-Pontic Scythian material.

The position taken here is that there is good evidence for considering a possible congruence between the Scythian poletop and the World Tree, but it remains incomplete and even highly contradictory. In this author's opinion, it would be better thoroughly to explore structures of meaning within the Scytho-Siberian tradition before turning for explanations to Vedic or Avestan traditions. While it may be true that the latter offer the most visible manifestations of the ancient Indo-Iranian traditions, there is no good reason why we should insist on those *specific* manifestations as directly transferable to all Indo-Iranian cultures, in general. At best, the Vedic and Avestan traditions offer a guide to the consideration of other Indo-Iranian symbolic systems.

[76] Mircea Eliade, *Images and Symbols* (Harvill Press, 1961), p. 47

[77] See Eliade's reference to peoples as distant from an ancient Near Eastern source as Malay Peninsula pygmies, pp. 40 and 47; and the conceptions of Arctic and North American tribal societies regarding the symbolic cosmic axis, p. 47. See also Eliade's *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*(Princeton: Bollingen Press, 1972), *passim.*

[78] V.N. Toporov, "K proiskhozdenie nekotorykh poeticheskikh simvolov," in *Rannye formy iskusstva* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 77–103.

[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 95–96.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

81) E. E. Kuzmina, "O semantike izobrazenii no chertomlikskoí vaze," *SA*, 1976, 3, pp. 68–75. For a sharply differing interpretation of the friezes on the vase, see Ann Farkas, "Interpreting Scythian Art: East vs. West," *AA*, XXXIX, 2 (1977), pp. 124–138. See also D. S. Raevskii, "Ob interpretatsii pamiatnikov skifskova iskusstva," in *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1979, 1, pp. 70–82.

82) Kuzmina develops her ideas on the Indo-Iranian basis of Scythian art in a number of publications, of which two are especially pertinent: "Skiftskovo iskusstva kak otrazhenii mirovozreniîa odnoî iz grupp indoirantsev," in *Skifo-Sibirskiî Sverinyî stil v iskusstve narodov Evrazii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), pp. 52–65; and "Kon v religii i iskusstve sakov i skifov," in *Skify i sarmaty* (Kiev, 1977), pp. 96–119. Regarding the complexities and unresolved problems in Mithraic traditions, see essays by Bivar, Gershevitch and Hinnell, *inter alia*, in: John R. Hinnells, ed., *Mithraic Studies* (Manchester University Press, 1975), 2 vols.; and W. Blawatsky and G. Kochelenko, *Le Culte de Mithra sur la Cote septentrionale de la Mer Noire* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966).

83) Raevskii, "Iz oblasti skifskoî kosmologii (opyt semanticheskoî interpretatsii pectorali iz Tolstoî Mogily," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1978, 3, pp. 115–133.

84) See above, note 75.

85) Modern Altaic shamanic beliefs seem to offer clear echoes of these ancient patterns, as well as of the ancient fusion of stag and horse. In modern ritual, however, the stag is associated with (is) the shaman's drum, by which the shaman rides through the heavens on his ecstatic journey. The stag is also, in the case of many Altaic peoples, the shaman's ancestor and thus the totemic ancestor of the shaman's group. In modern practice, the horse has been substituted for the stag (or reindeer), in body if not in name; and until relatively recently, the skins of horses (or sometimes of deer) were hung over special trees at the sacrificial grounds, thereby recreating (imagistically) the shaman's journey *via* his steed and the World Tree. For the most comprehensive discussion of these Altaic beliefs, see: L. P. Potapov, "Sledi totemisticheskikh predstavlenii u altaitsev," *Sovetskaîa Etnographiîa*, Vol. 4, 5 (1935), pp. 134–151. For some application of Potapov's materials to the Altaic Scythian period, see S. S. Sorokin, "Bol'shoî Berel'skiî kurgan," *Trudy Gosudarstvennovo Ermitazha*, X, 7 (1969), pp. 208–236.

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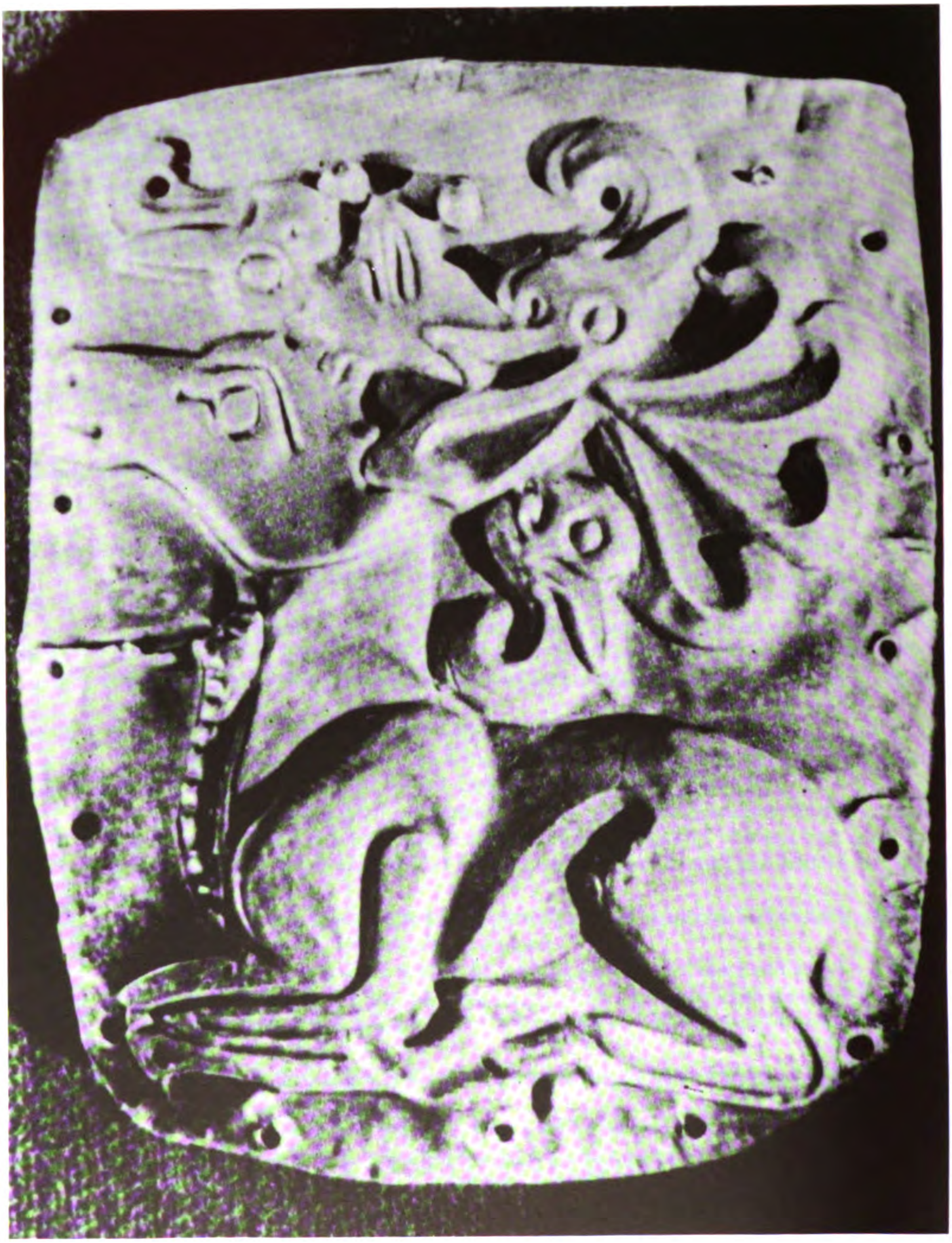
Plate 1



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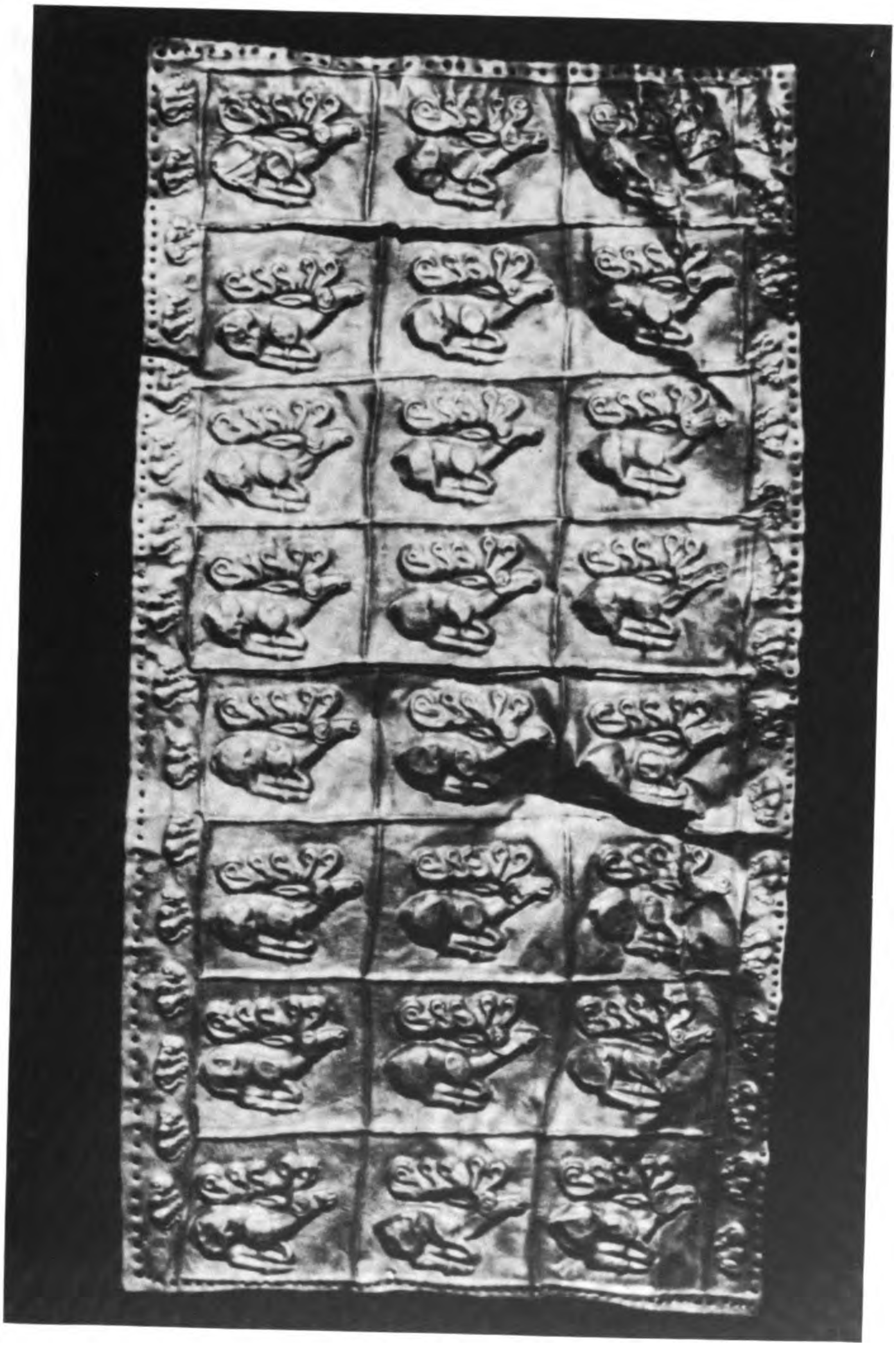

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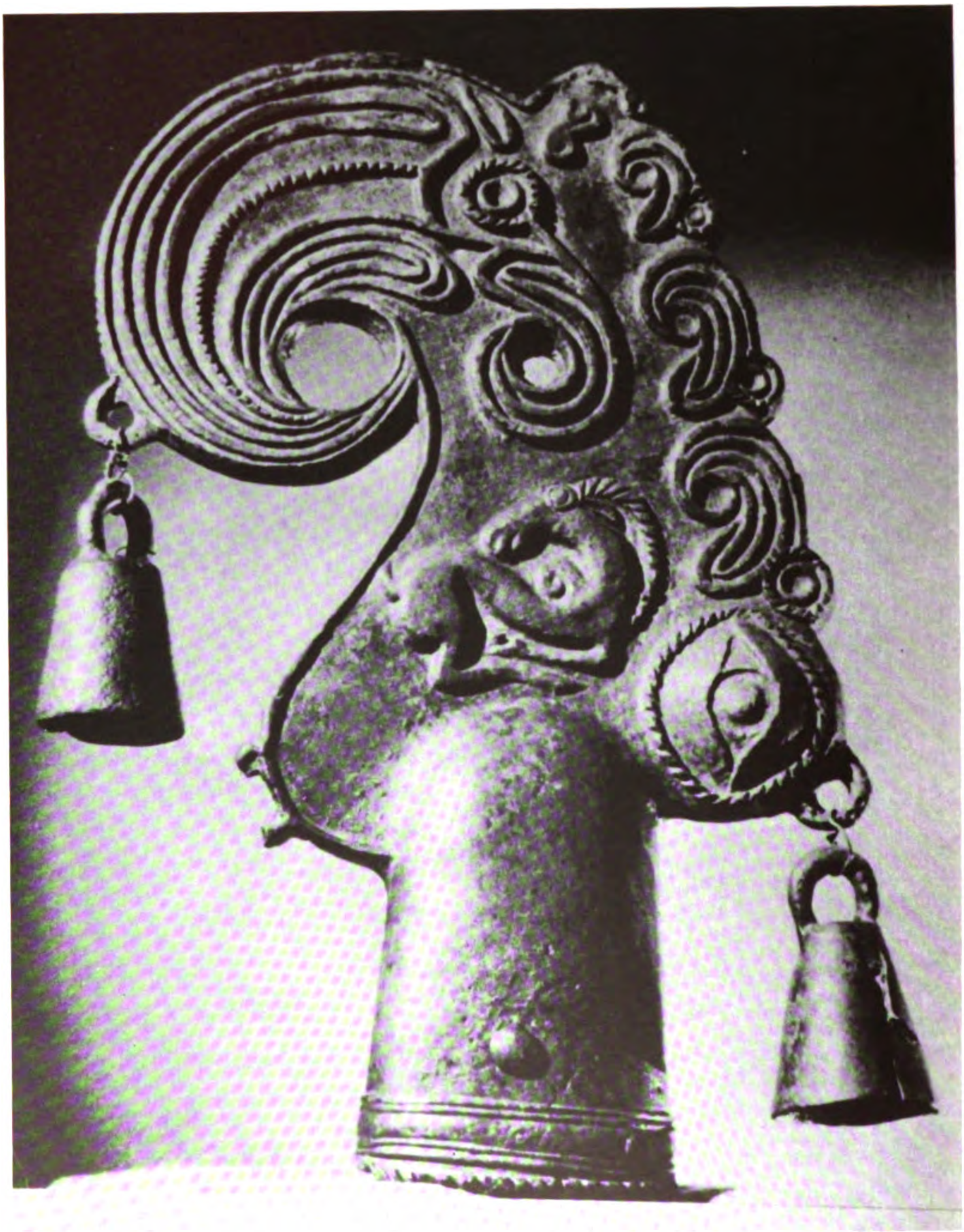

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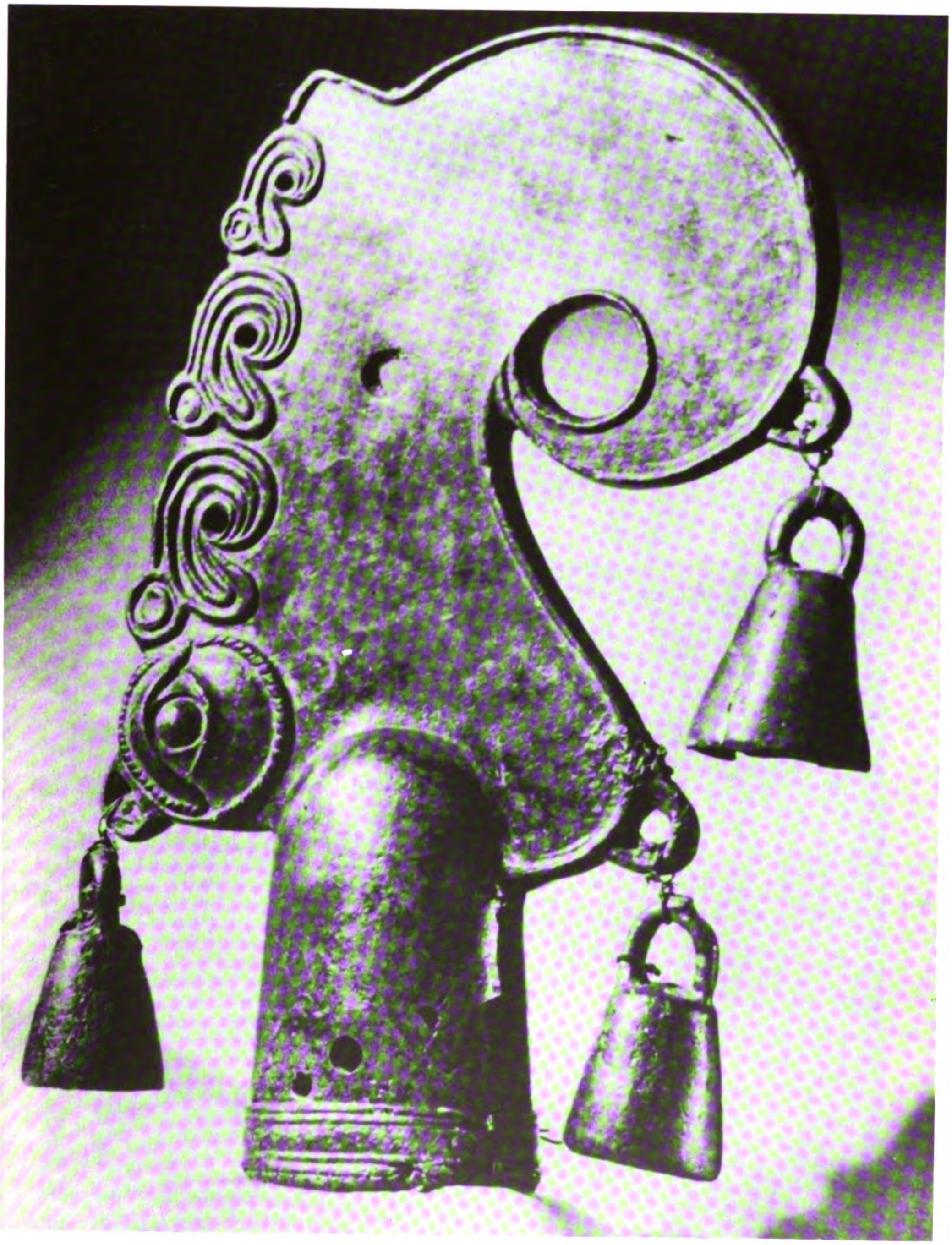
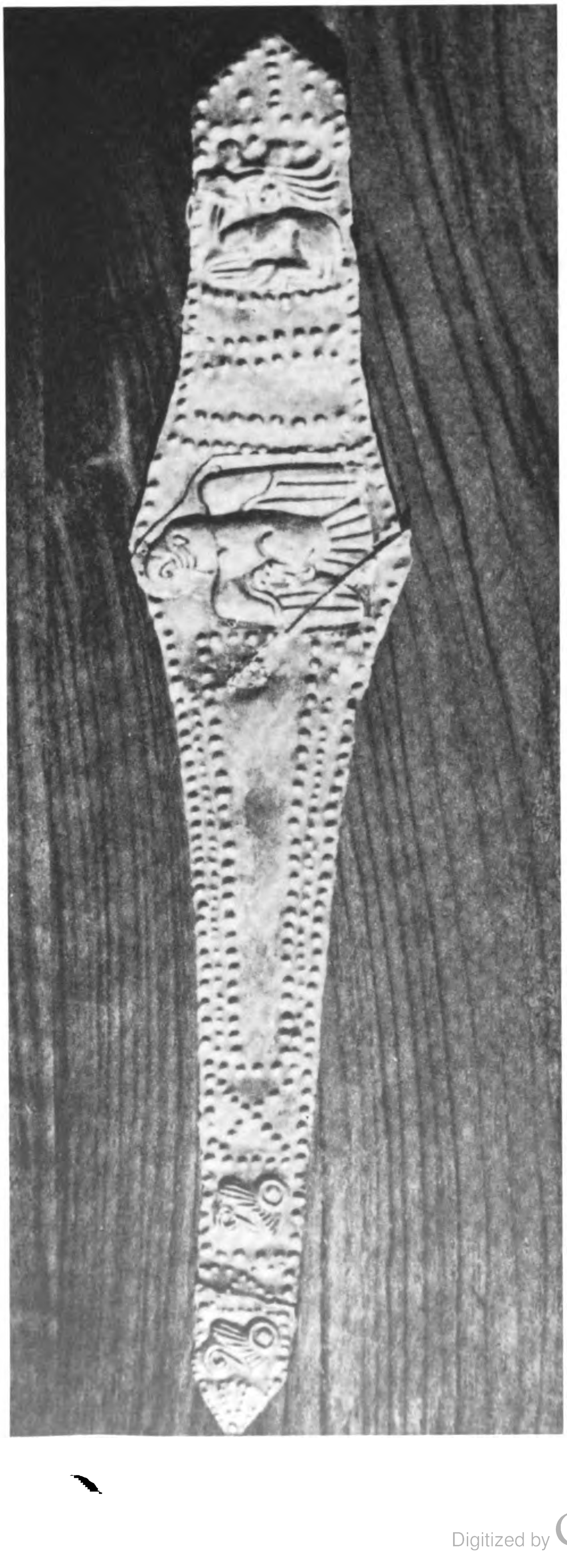


Plate 5

Plate 7



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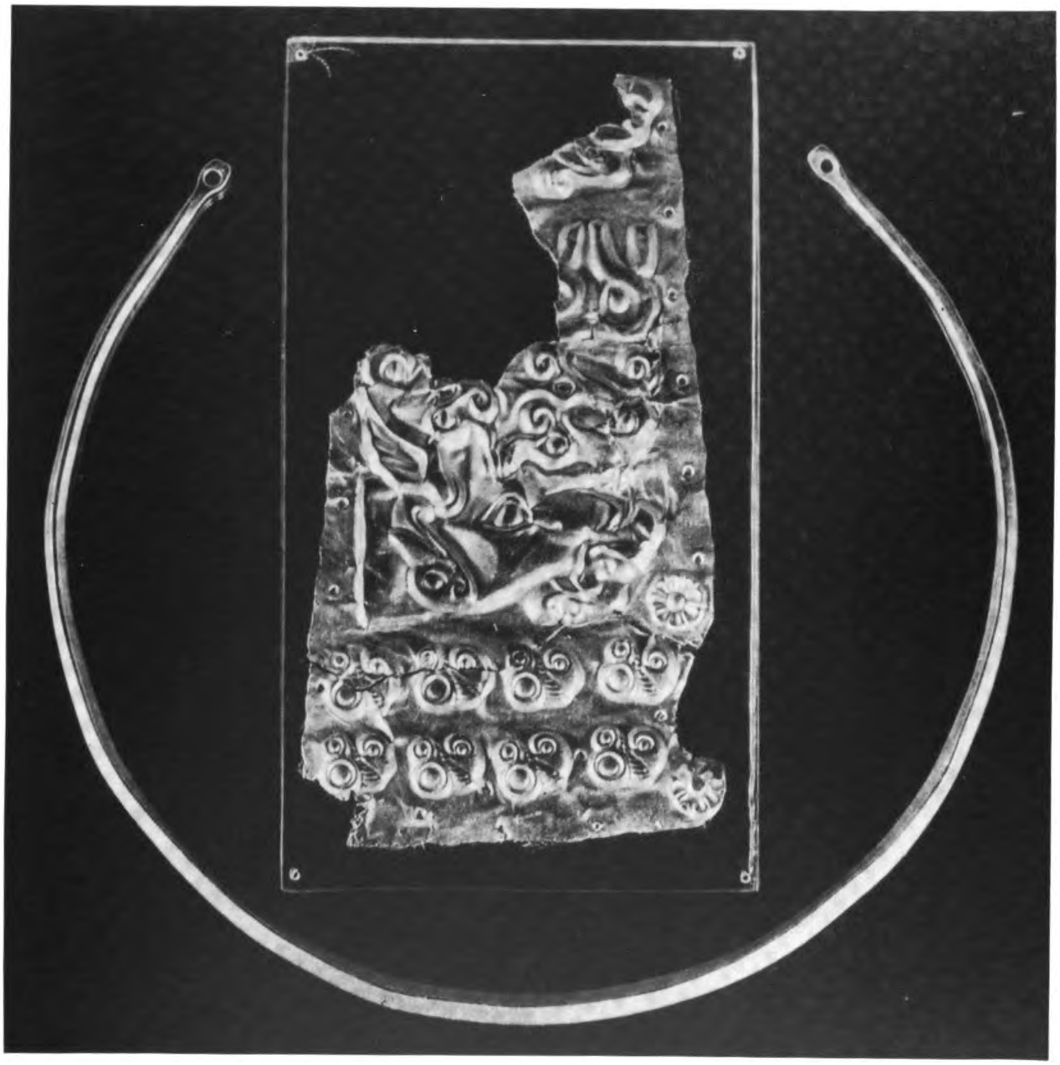

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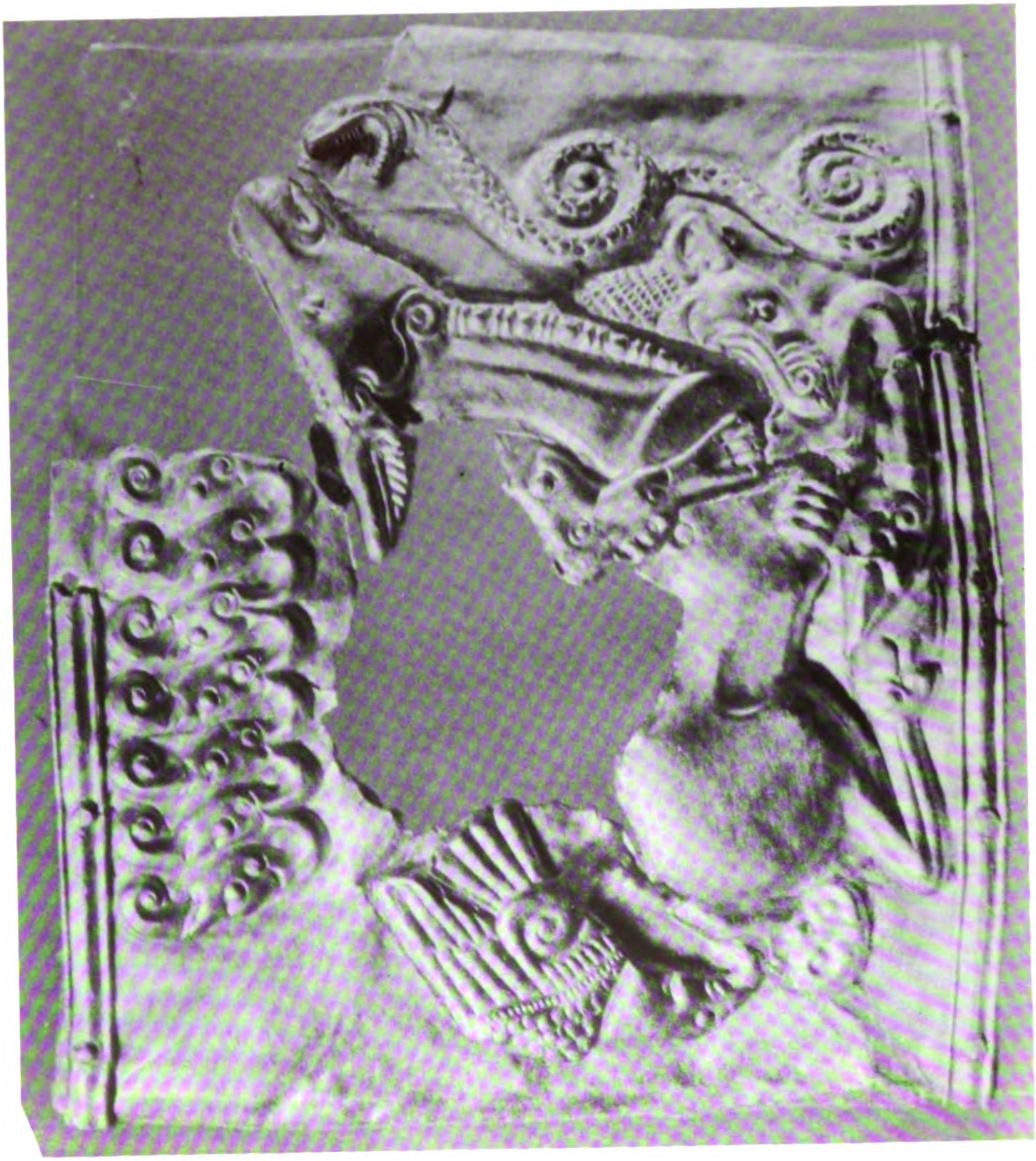

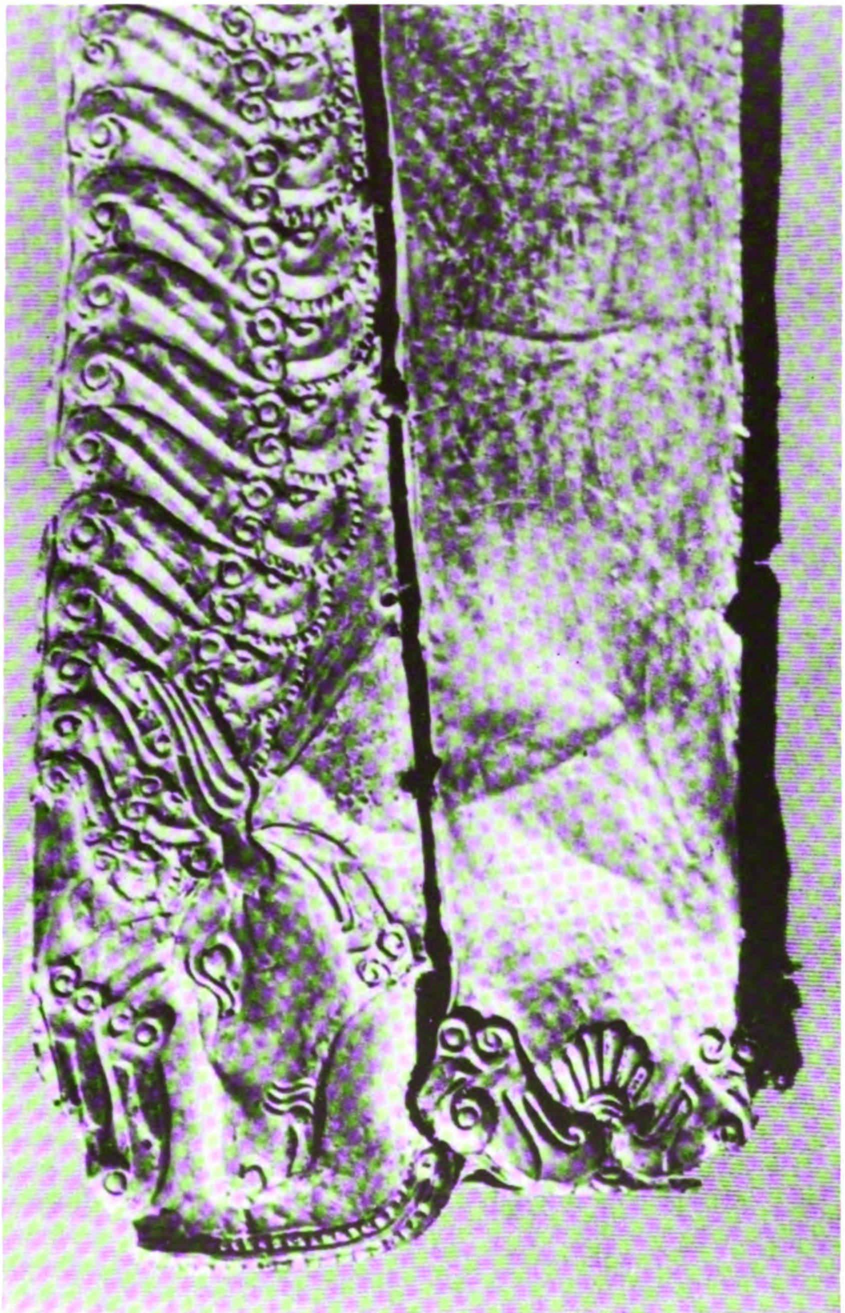

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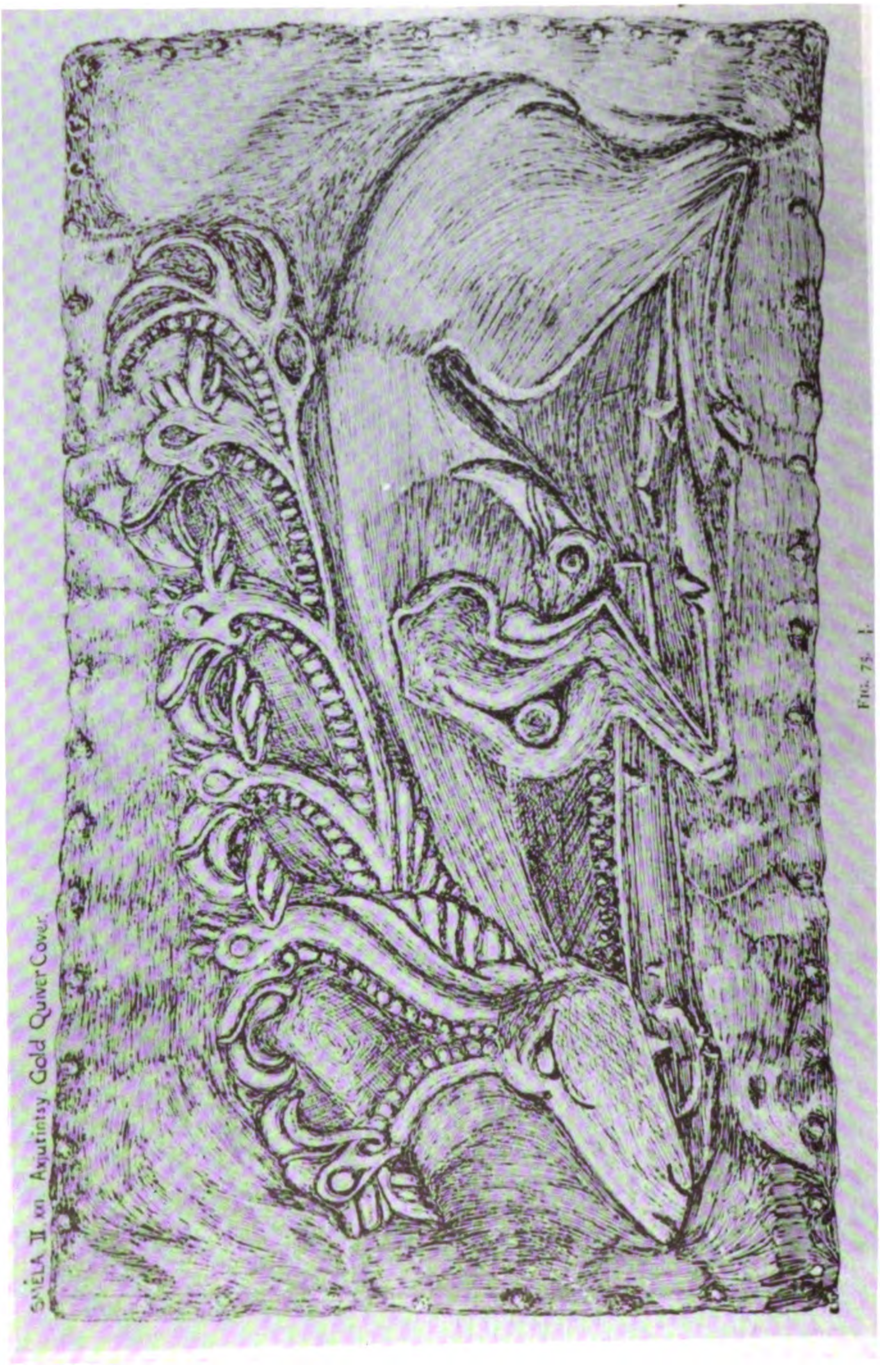
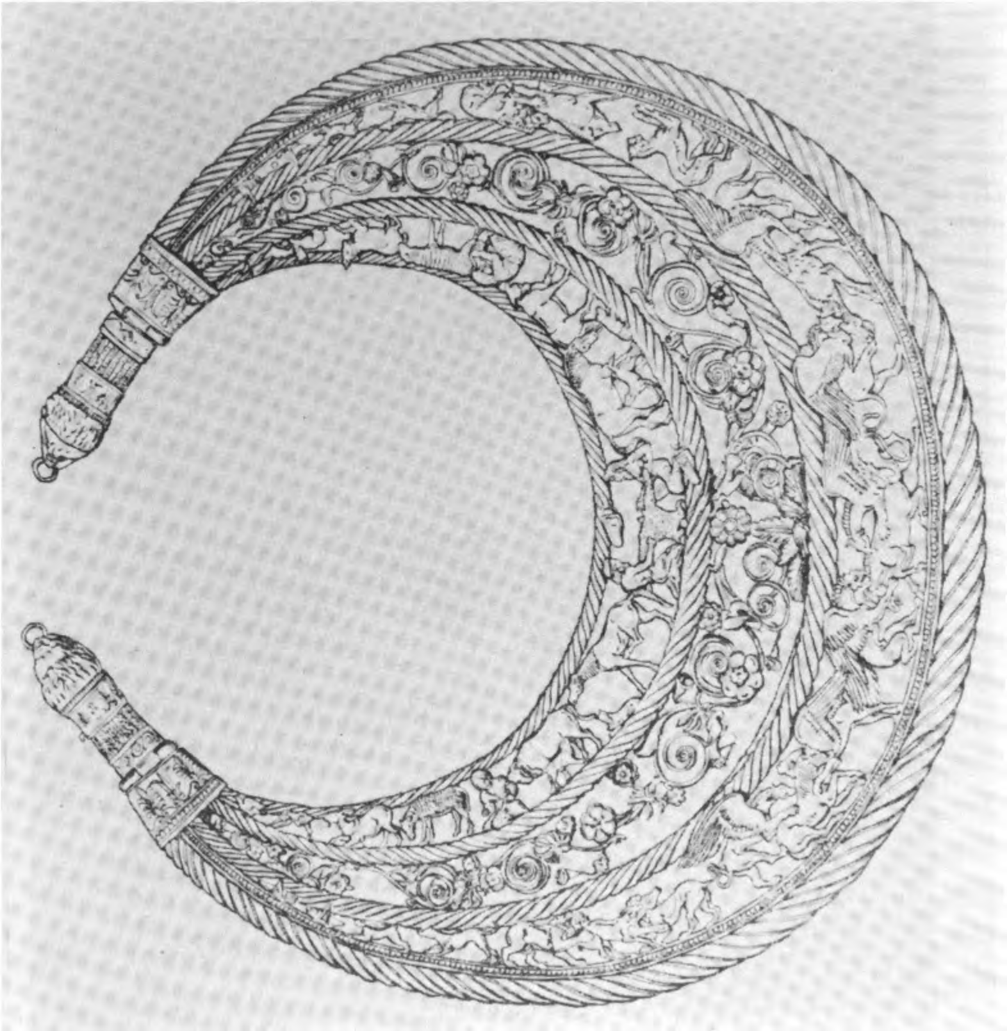

SMELA II xxi Axjutintsy Gold Quiver Cover.
FIG. 73. I.

Plate 12

Plate 13



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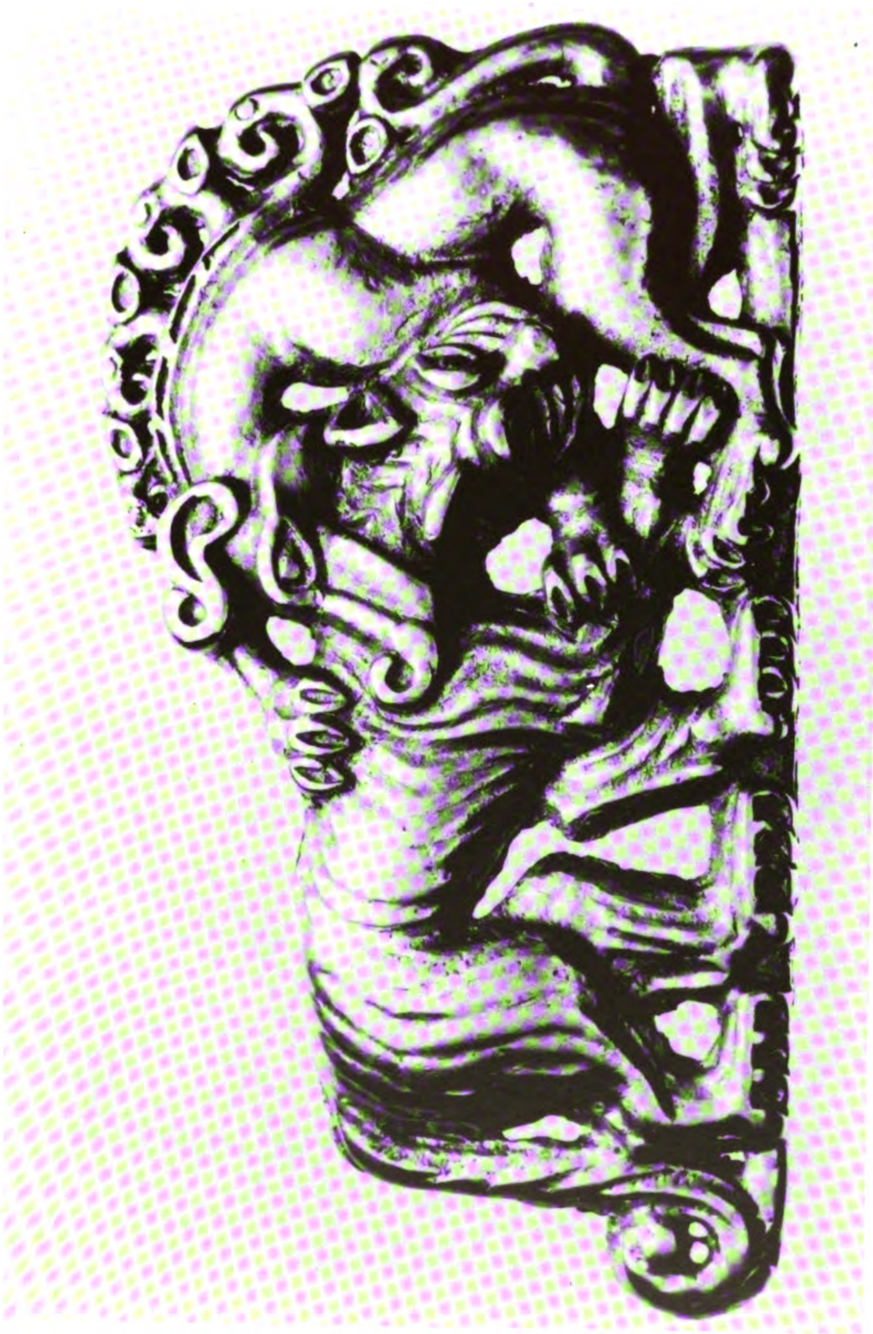

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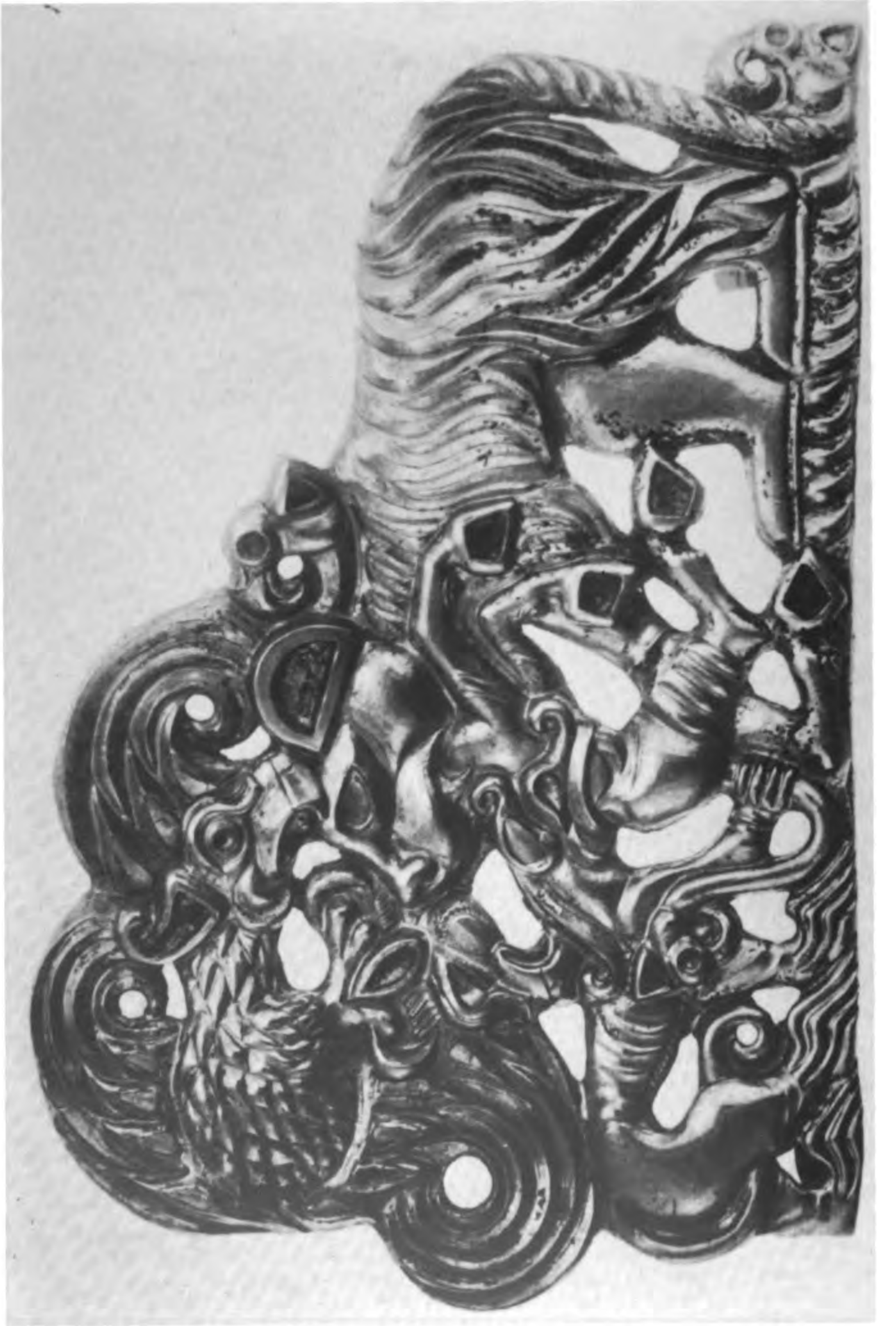

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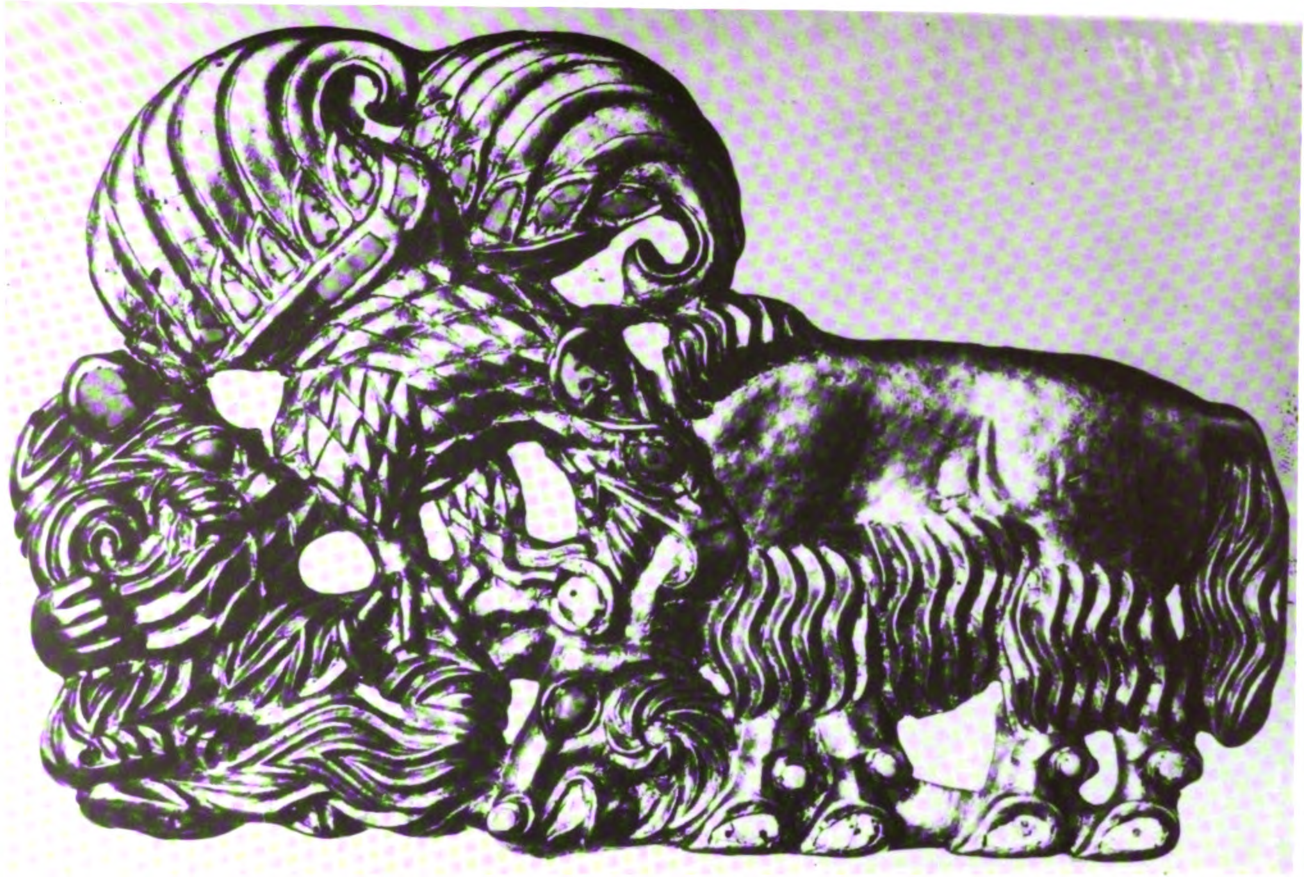

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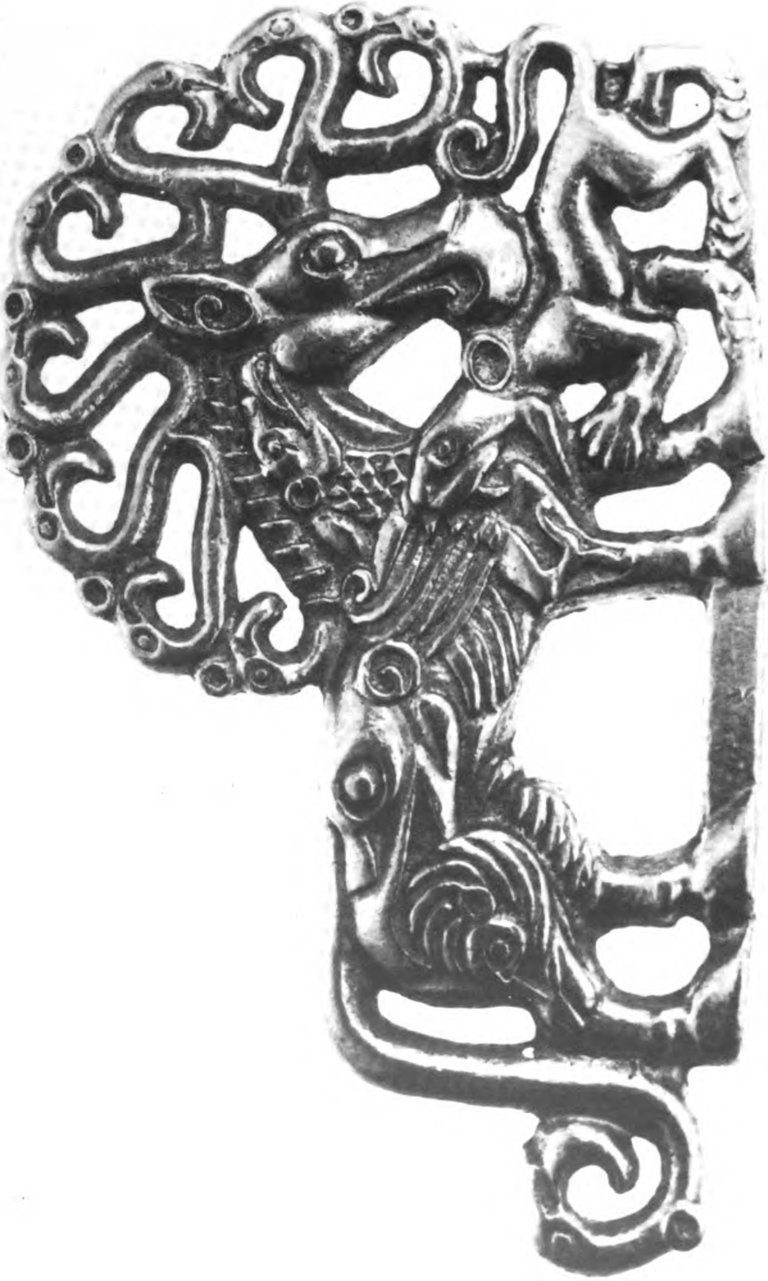

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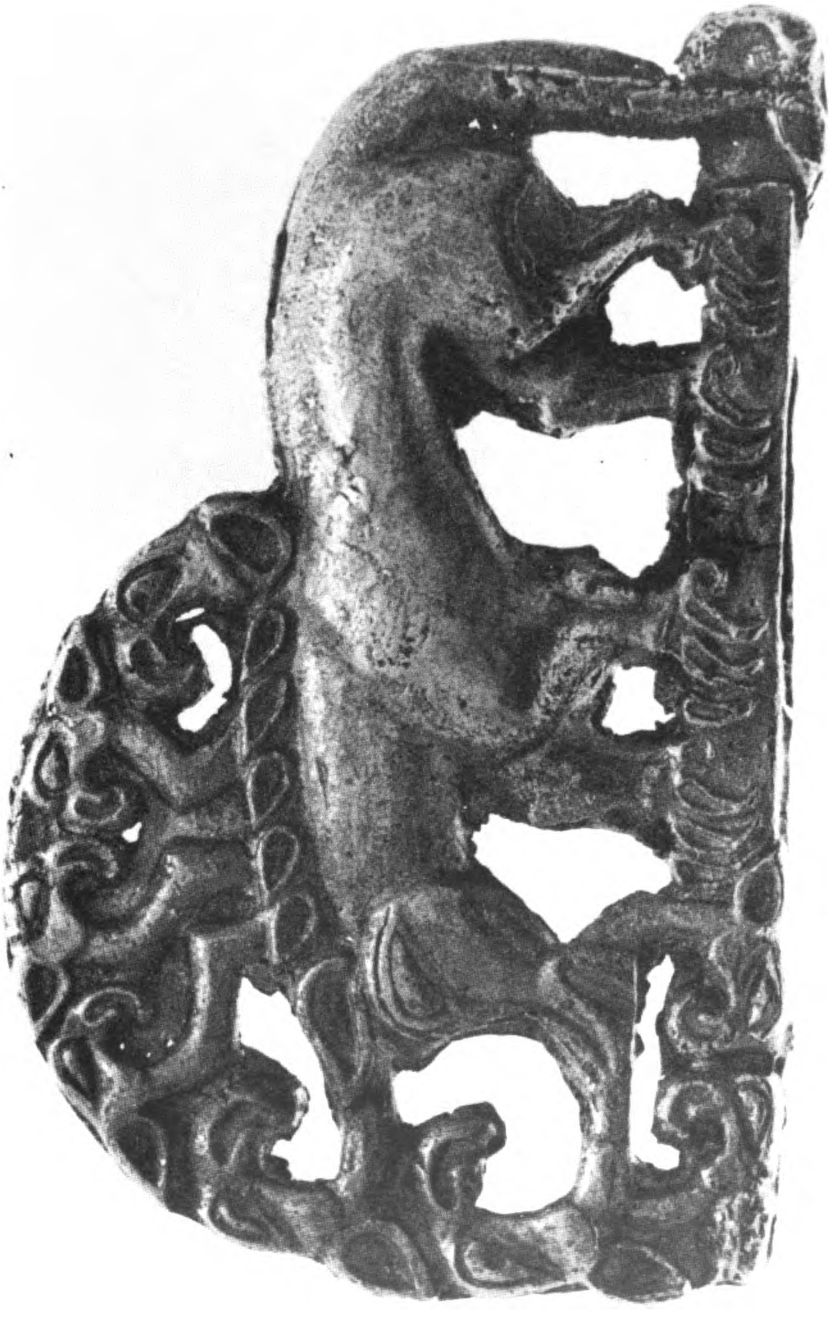

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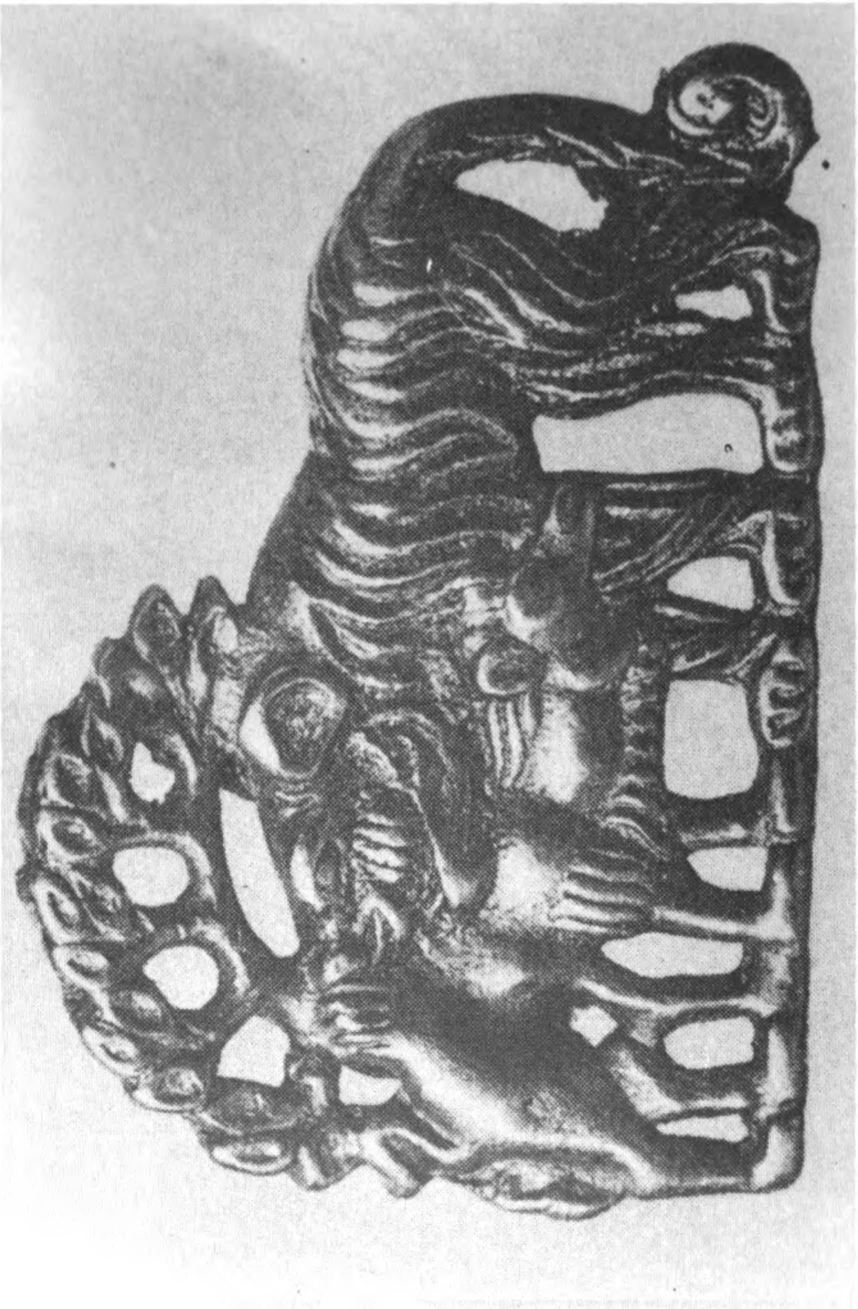

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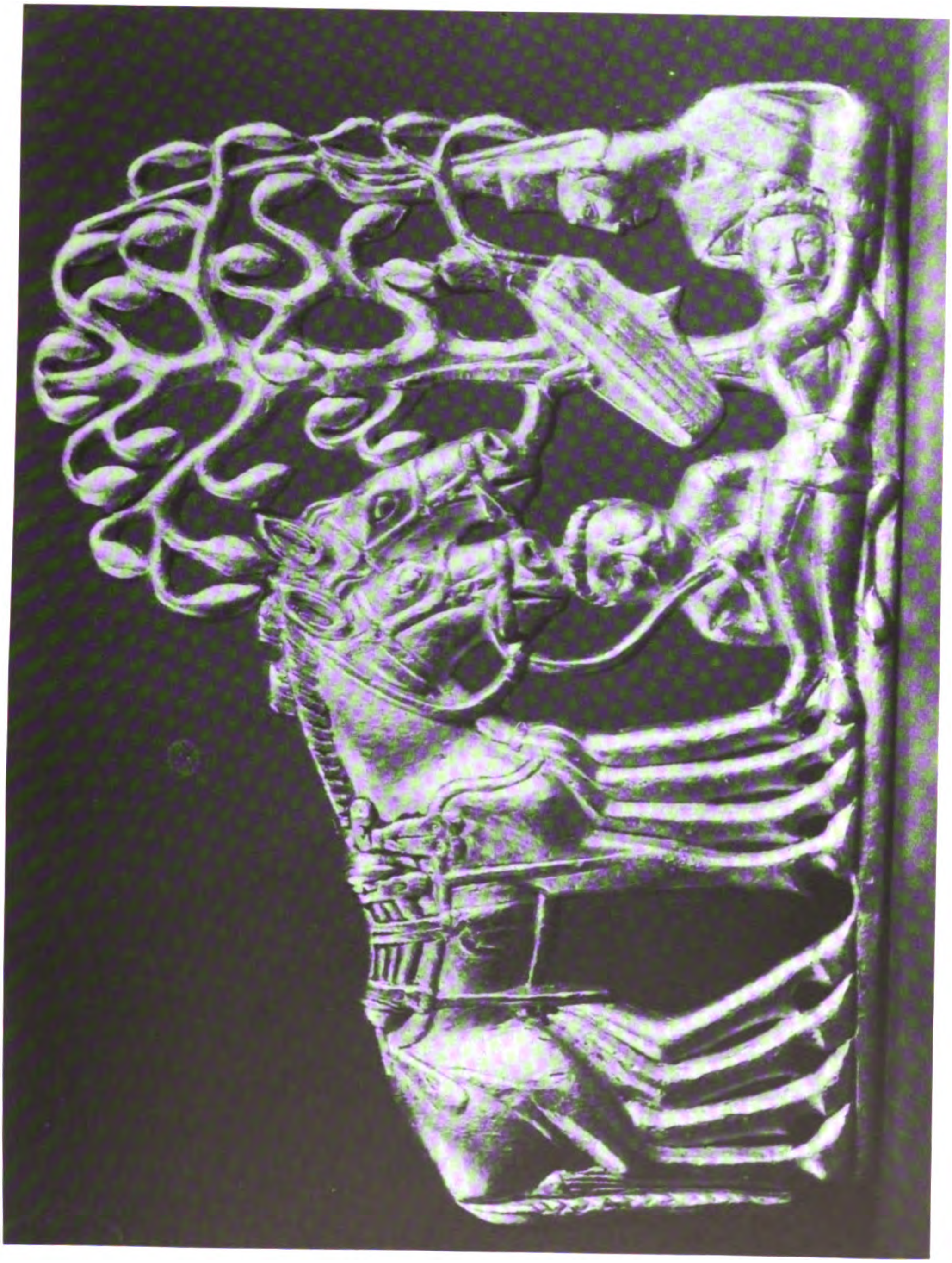

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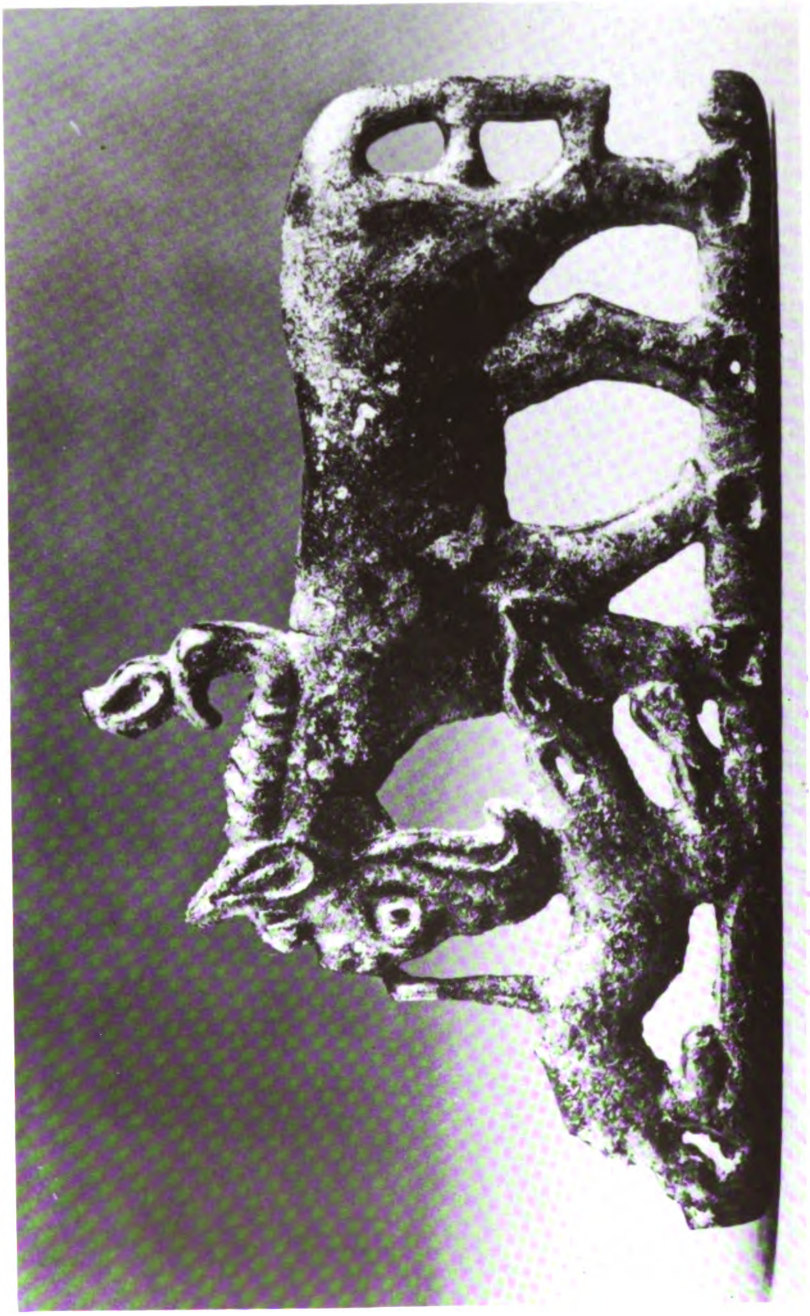

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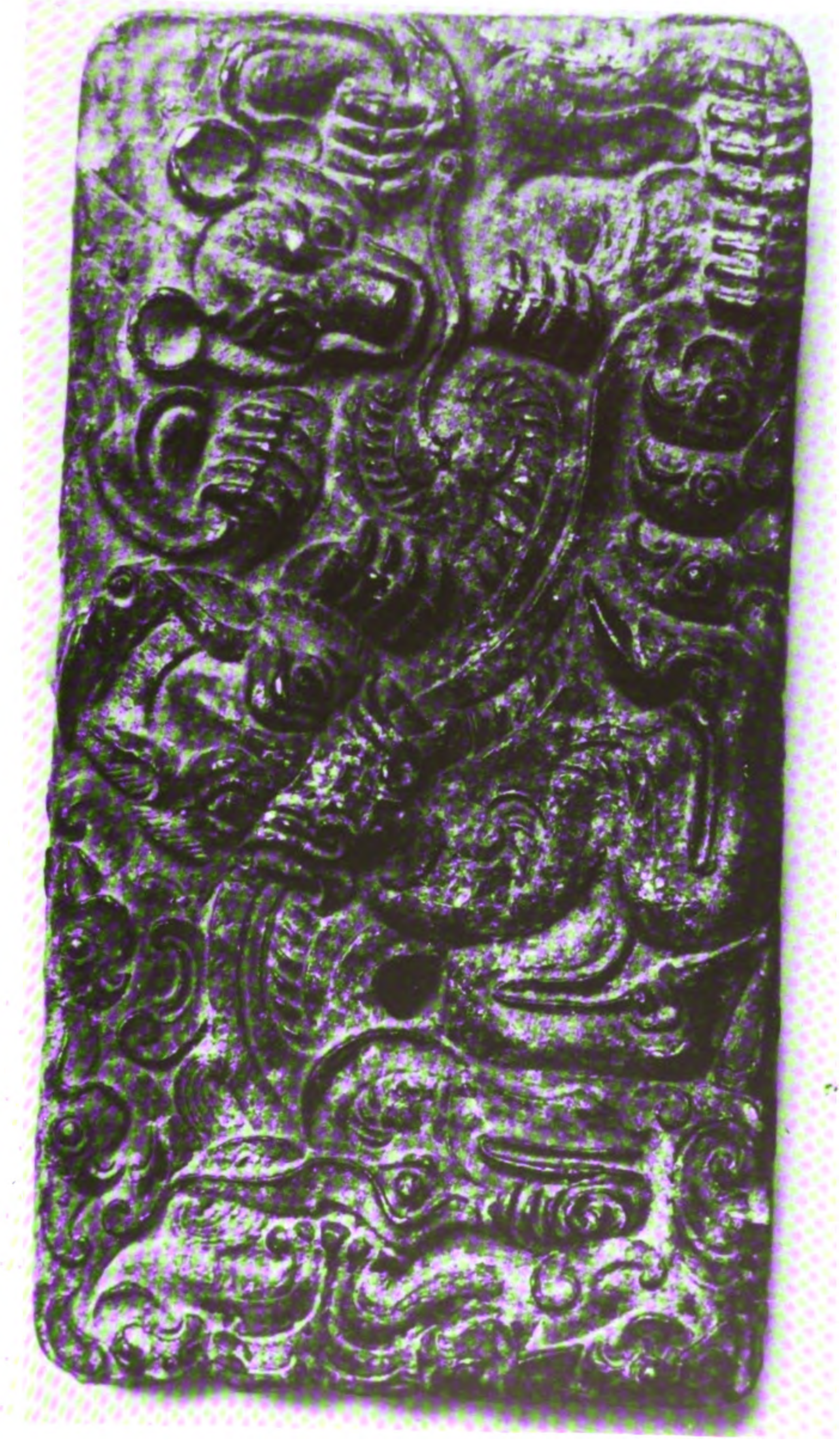

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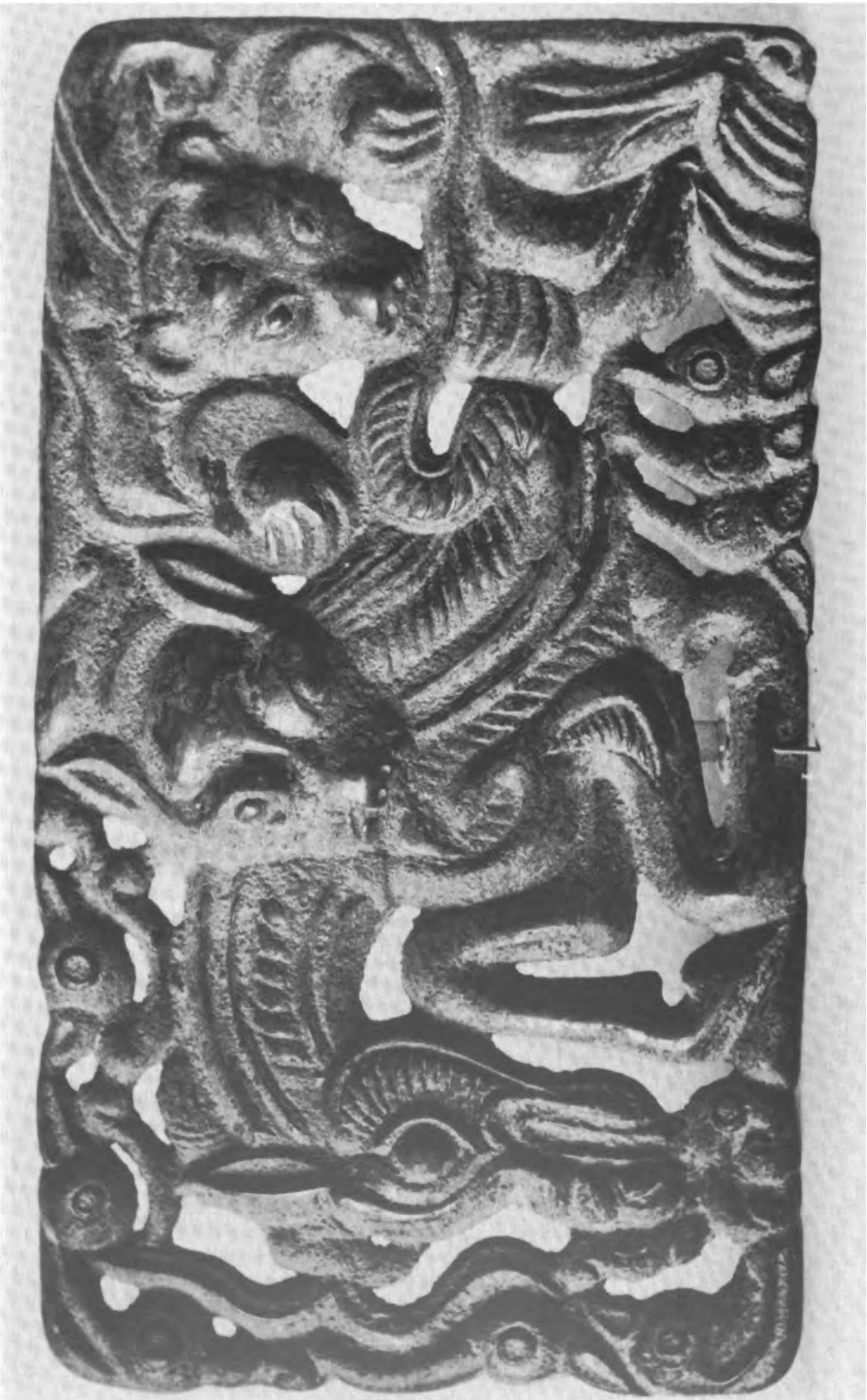

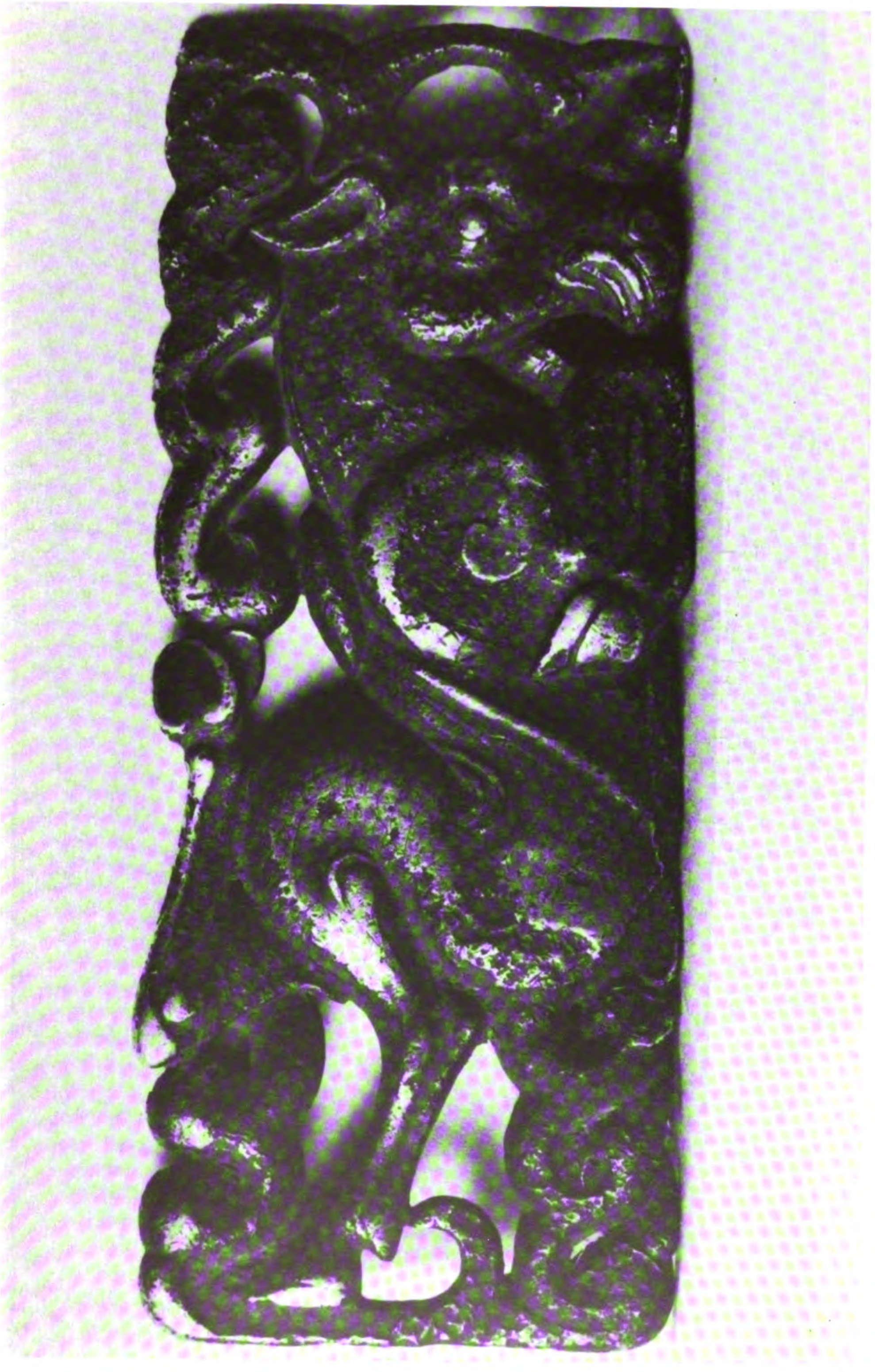

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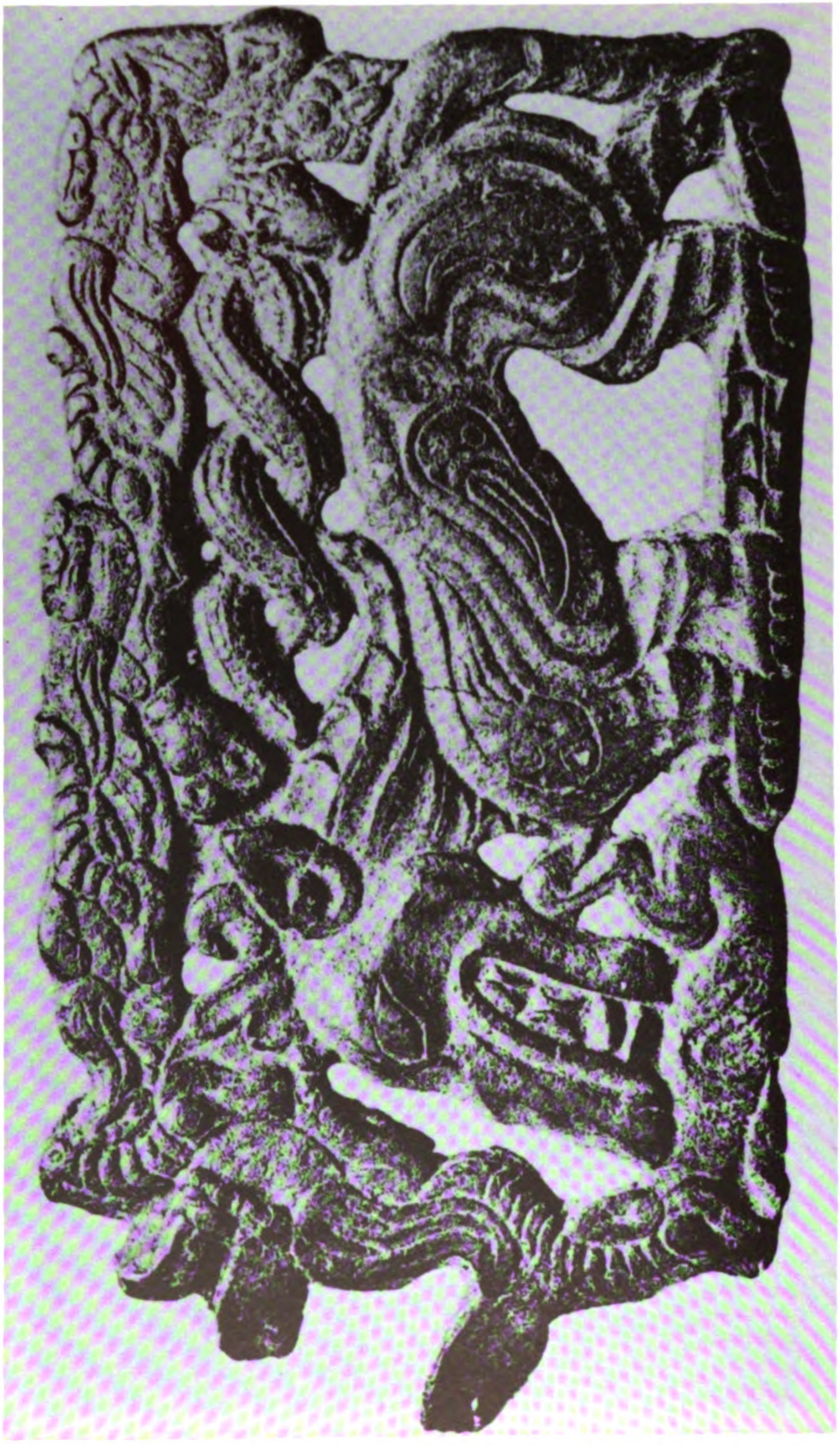

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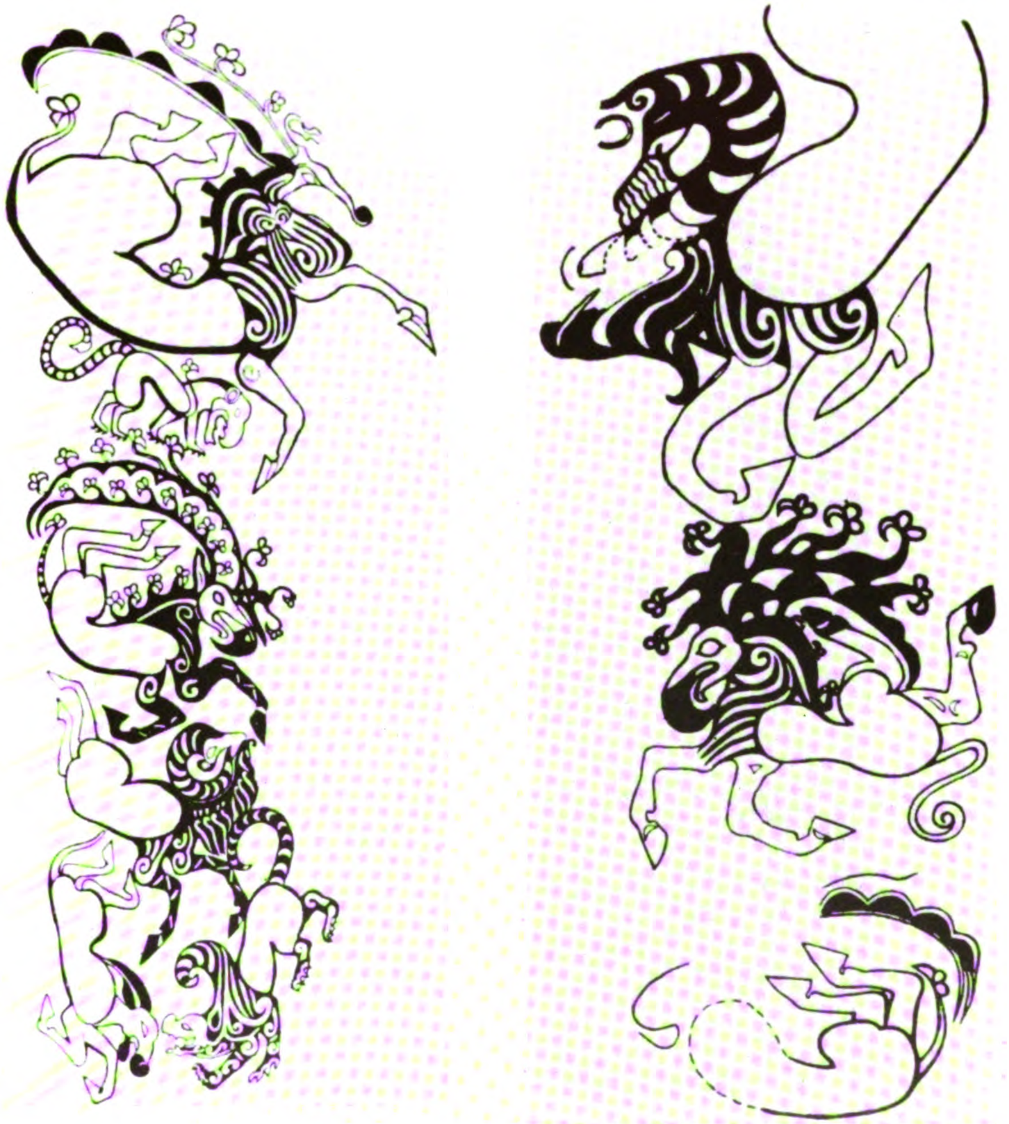

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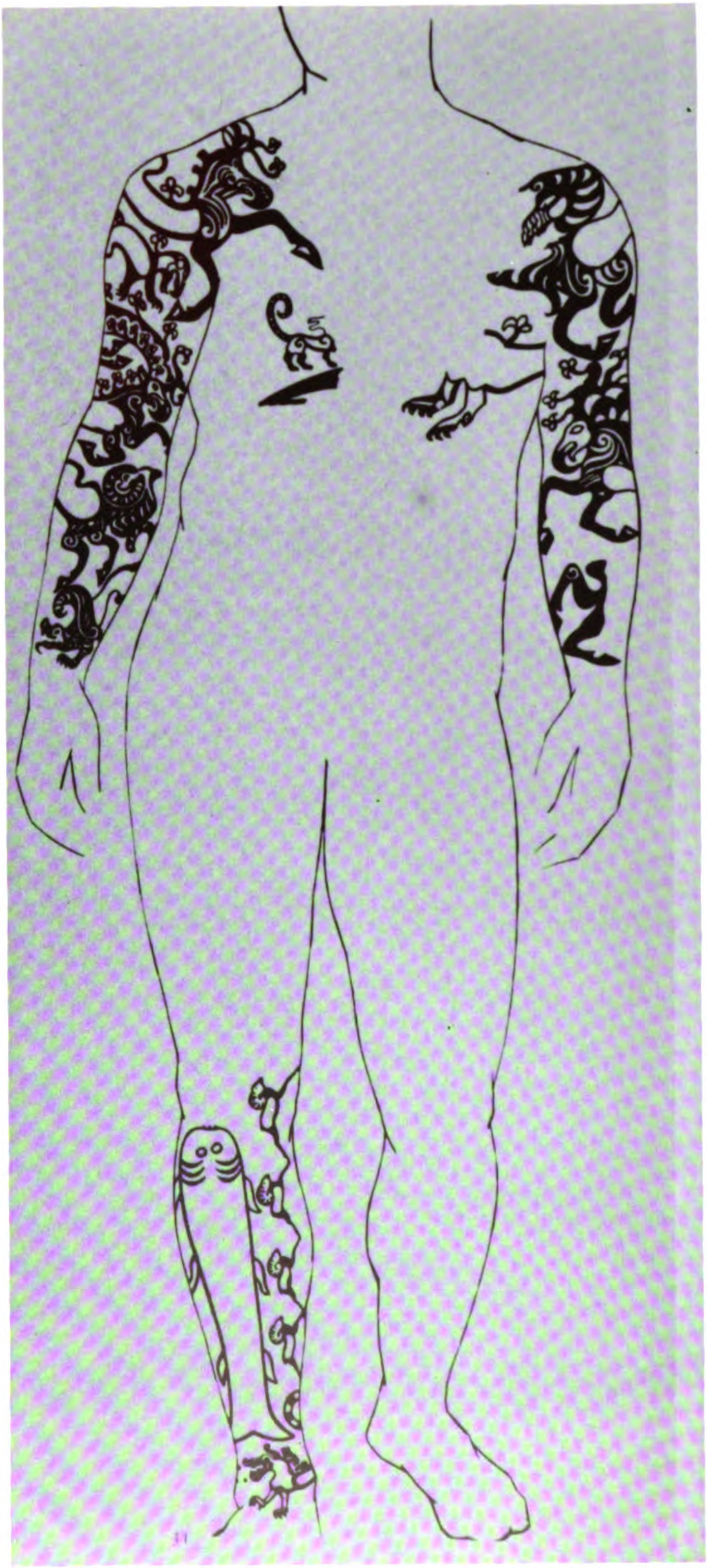

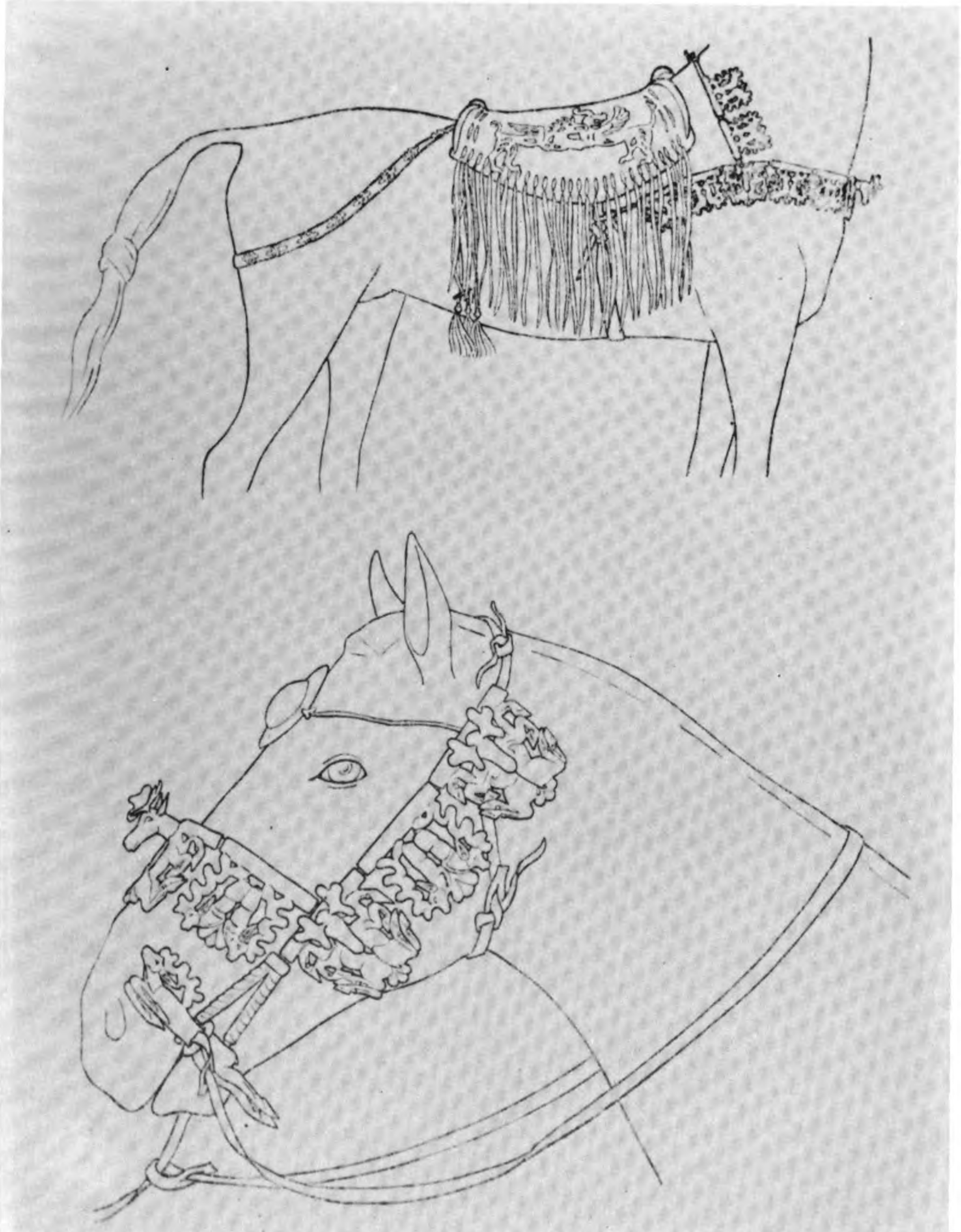

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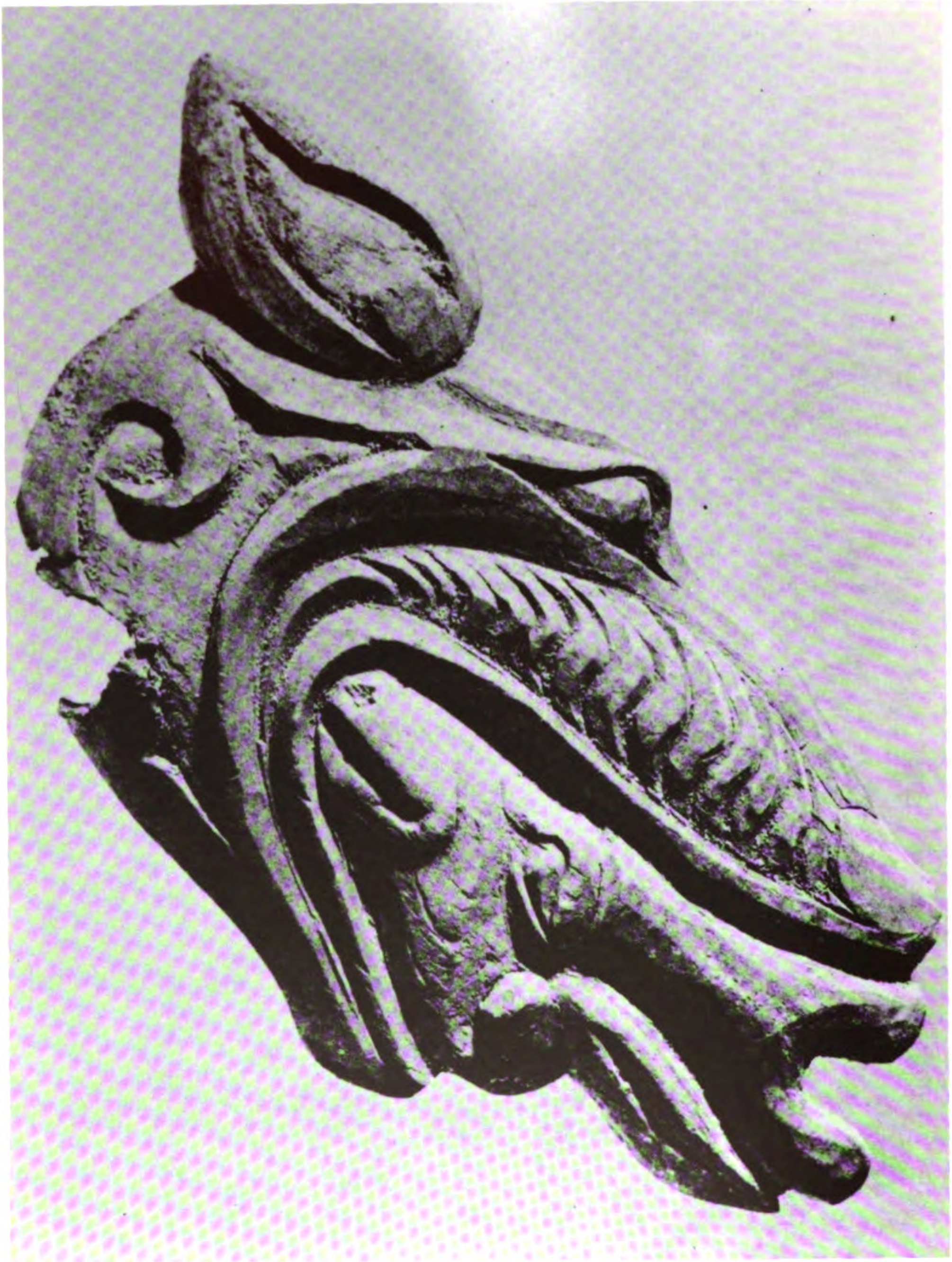

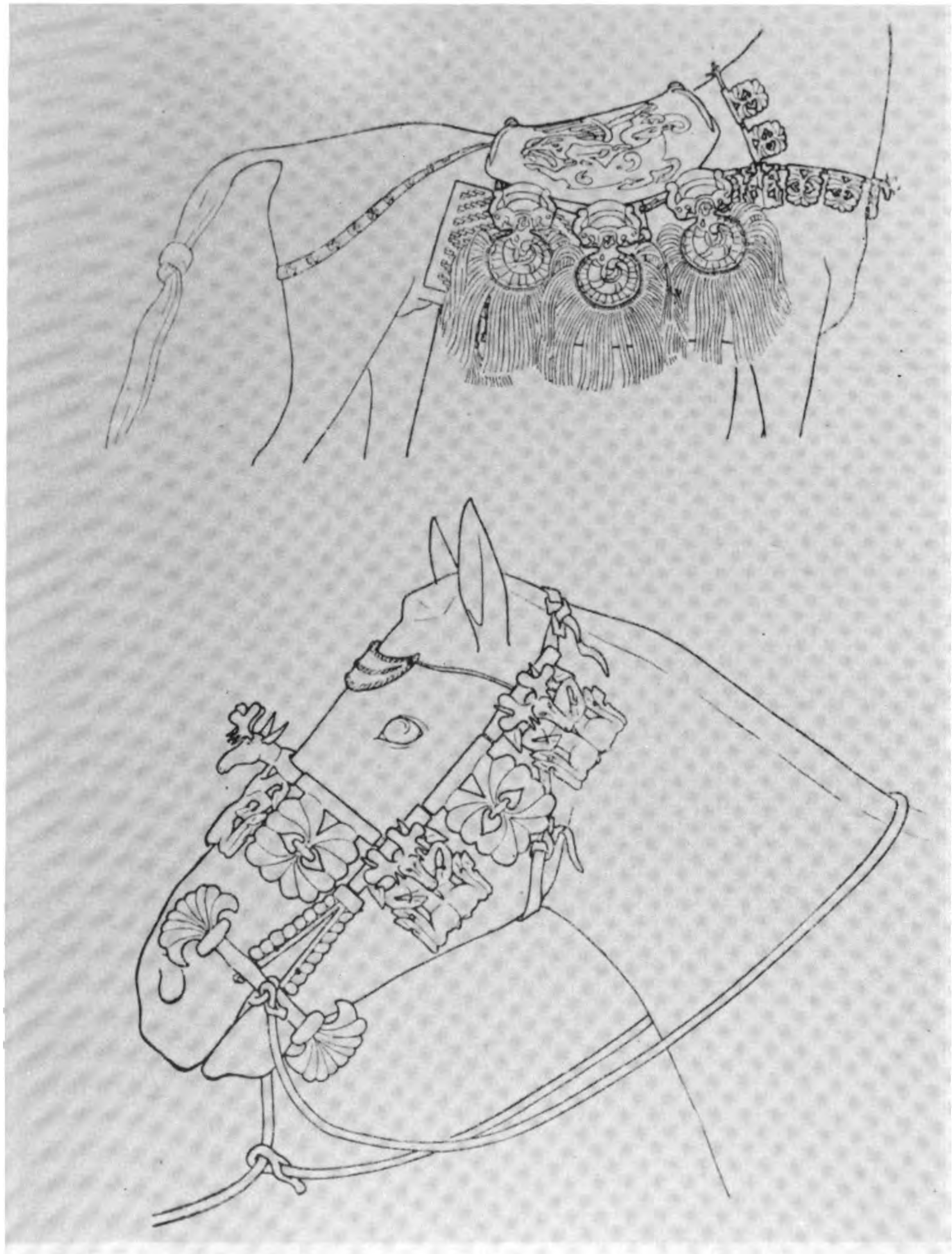

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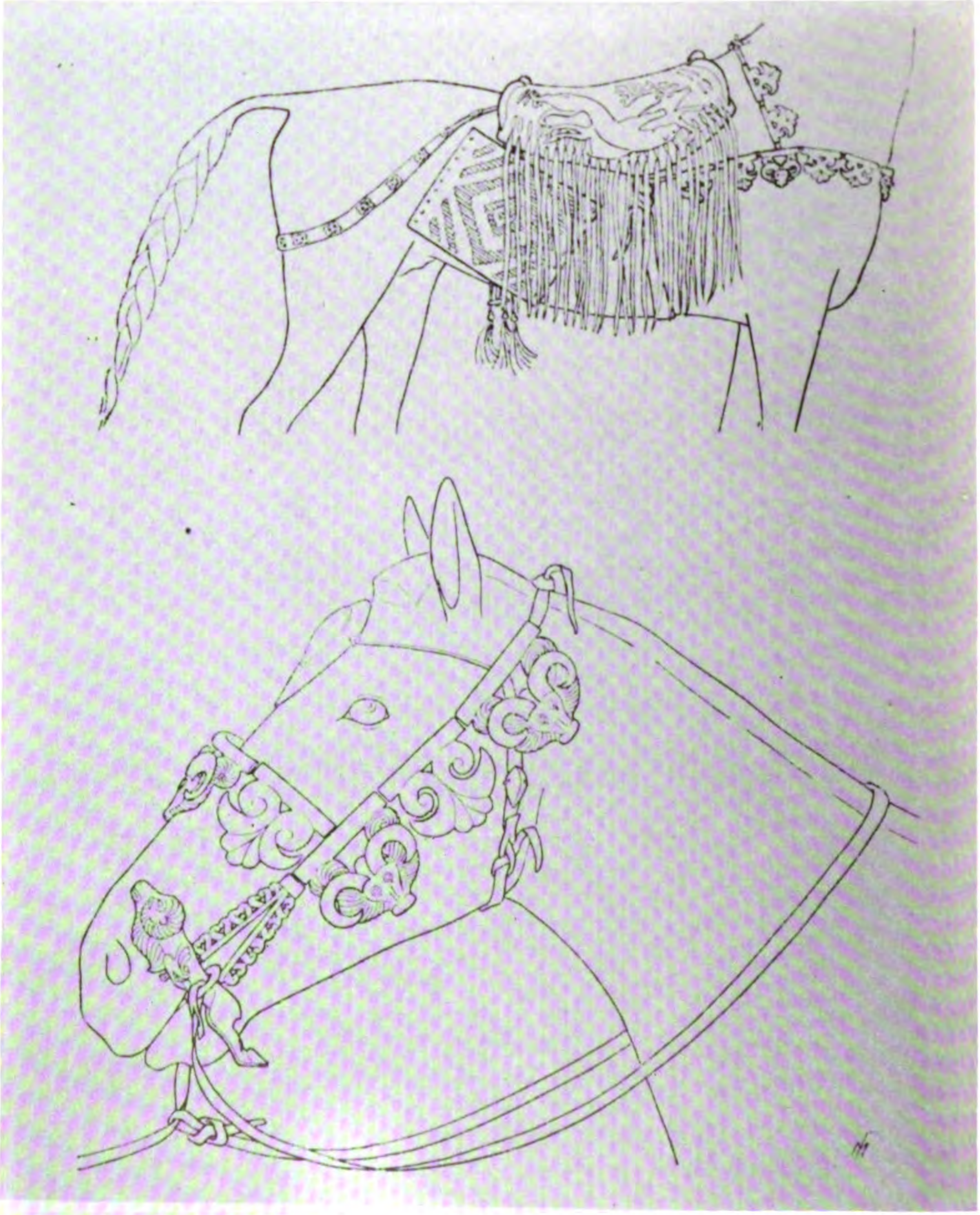

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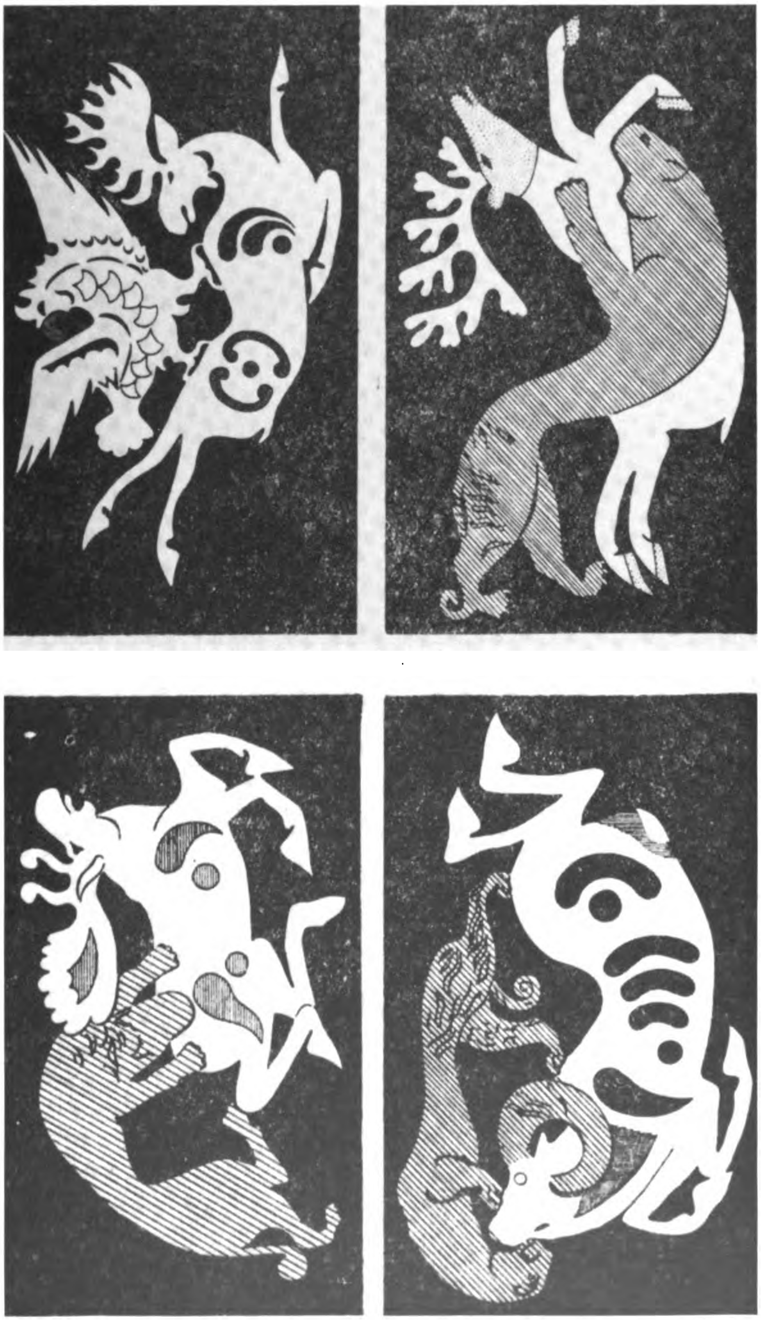

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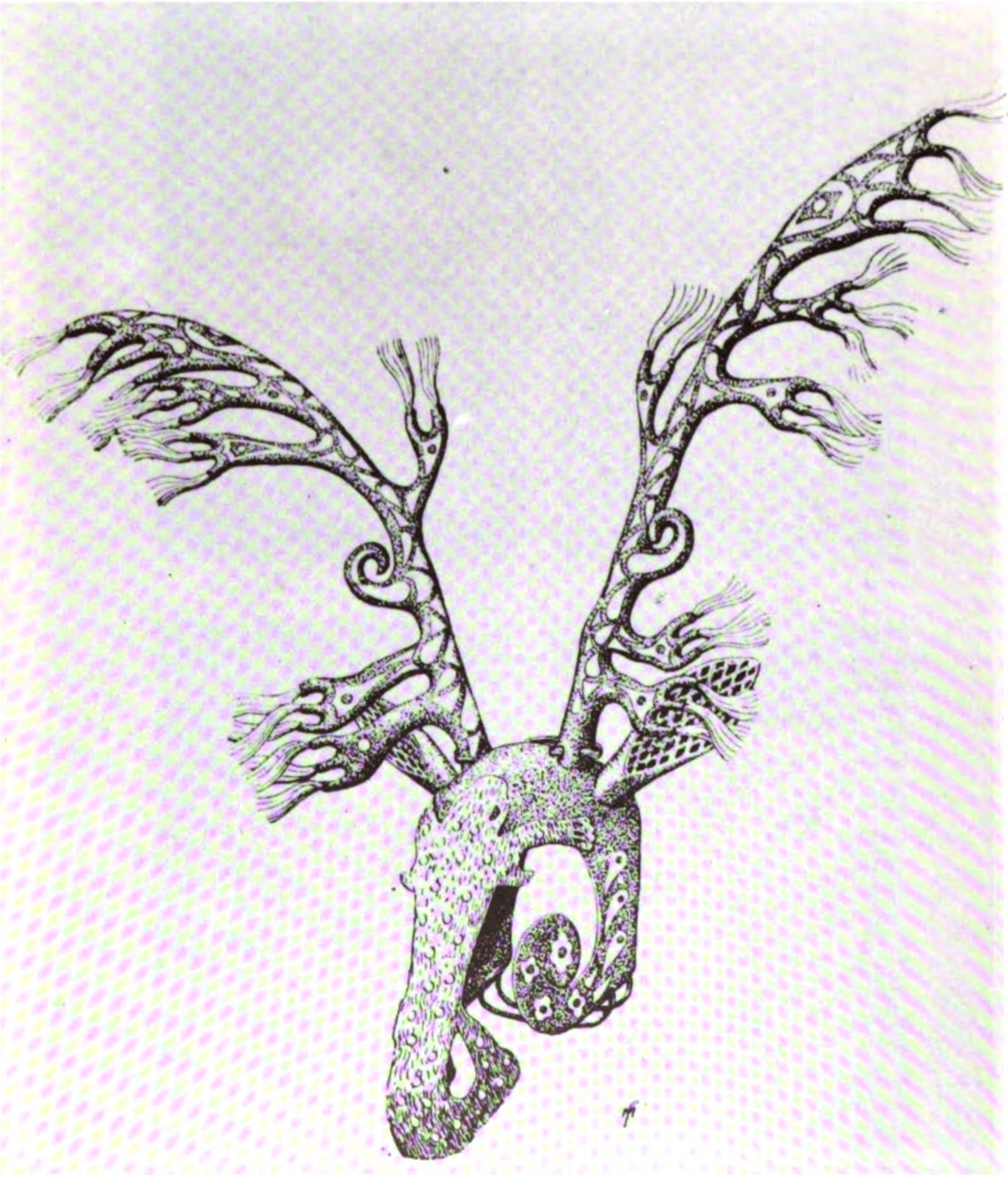

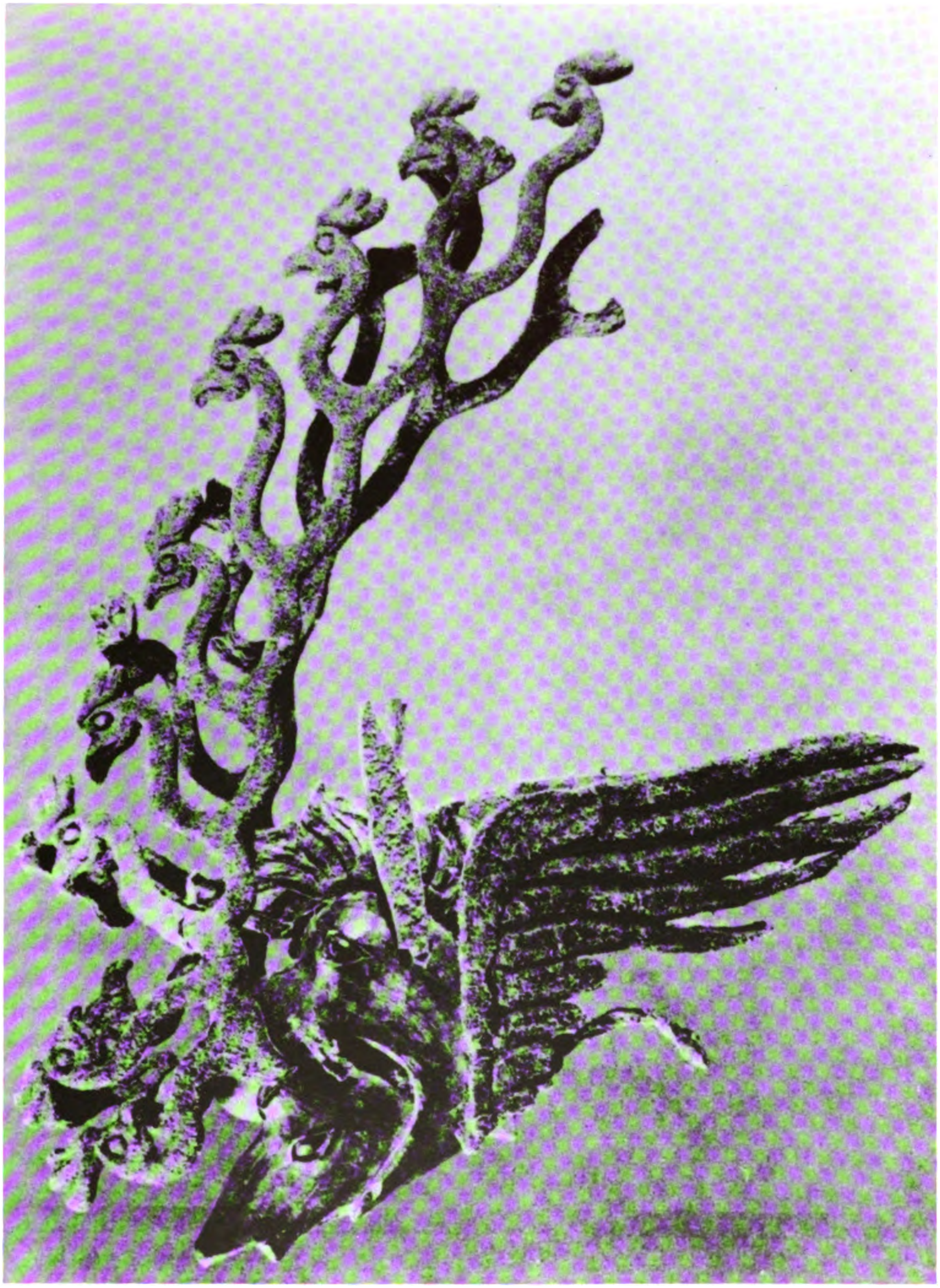

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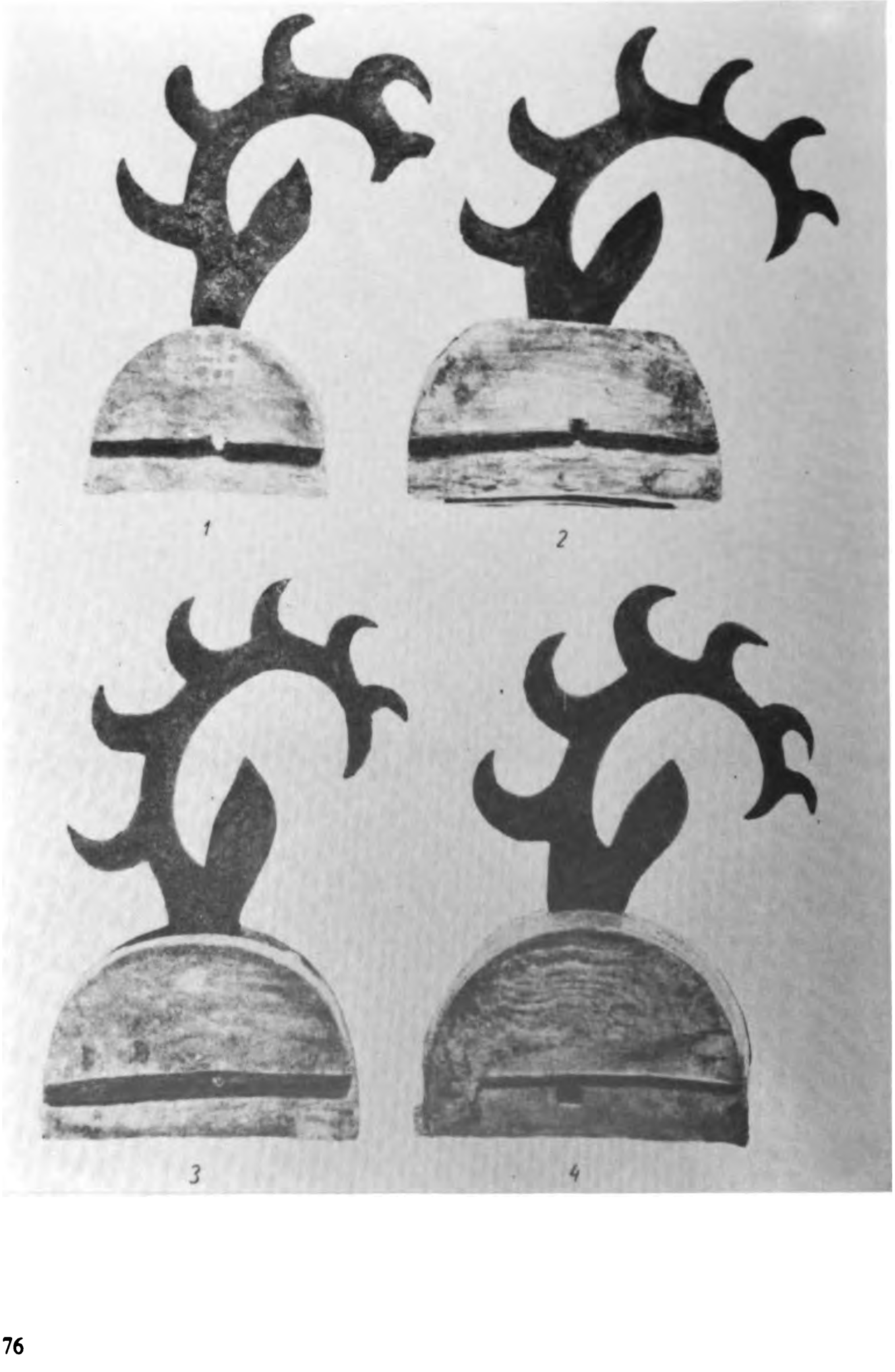

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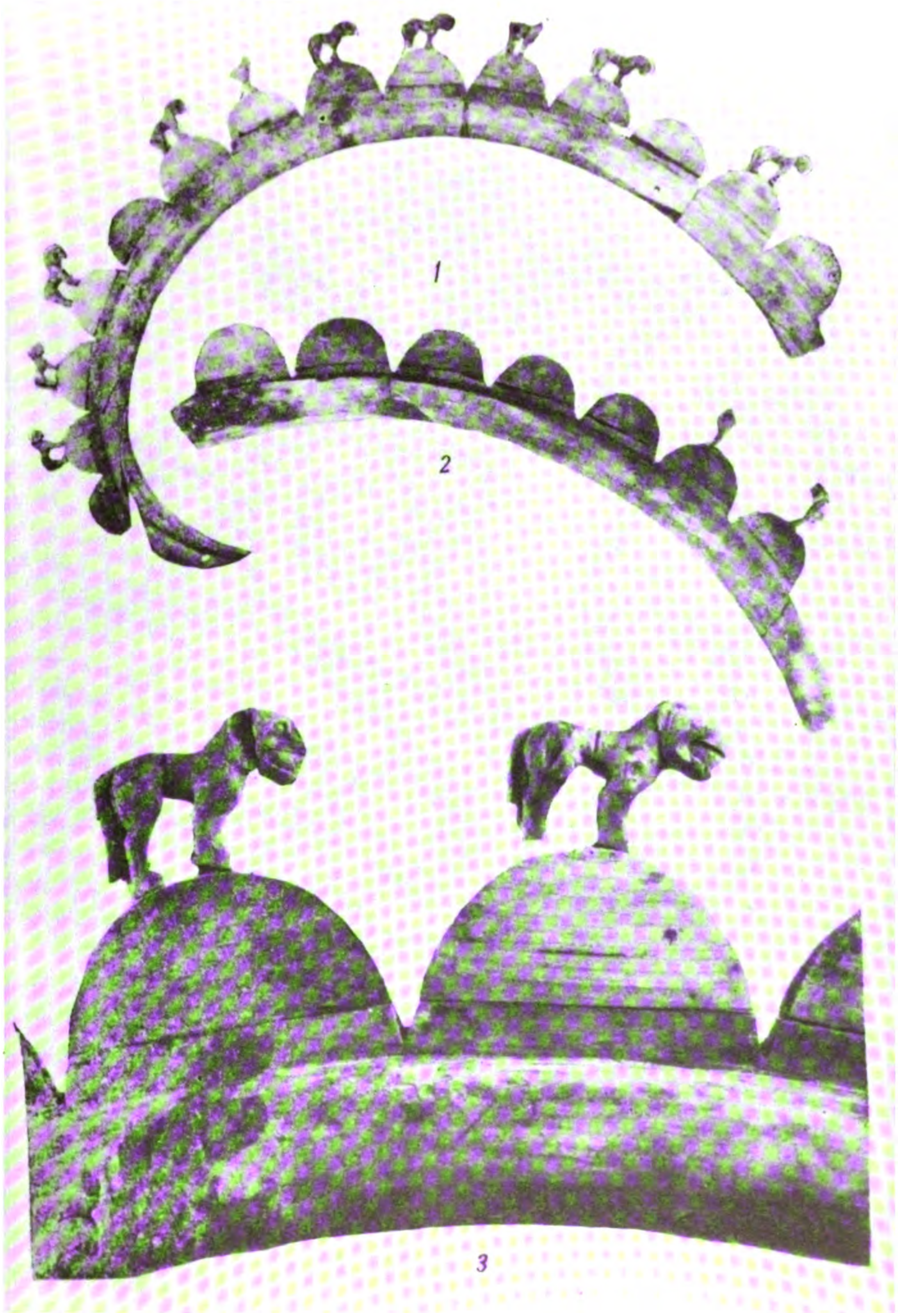

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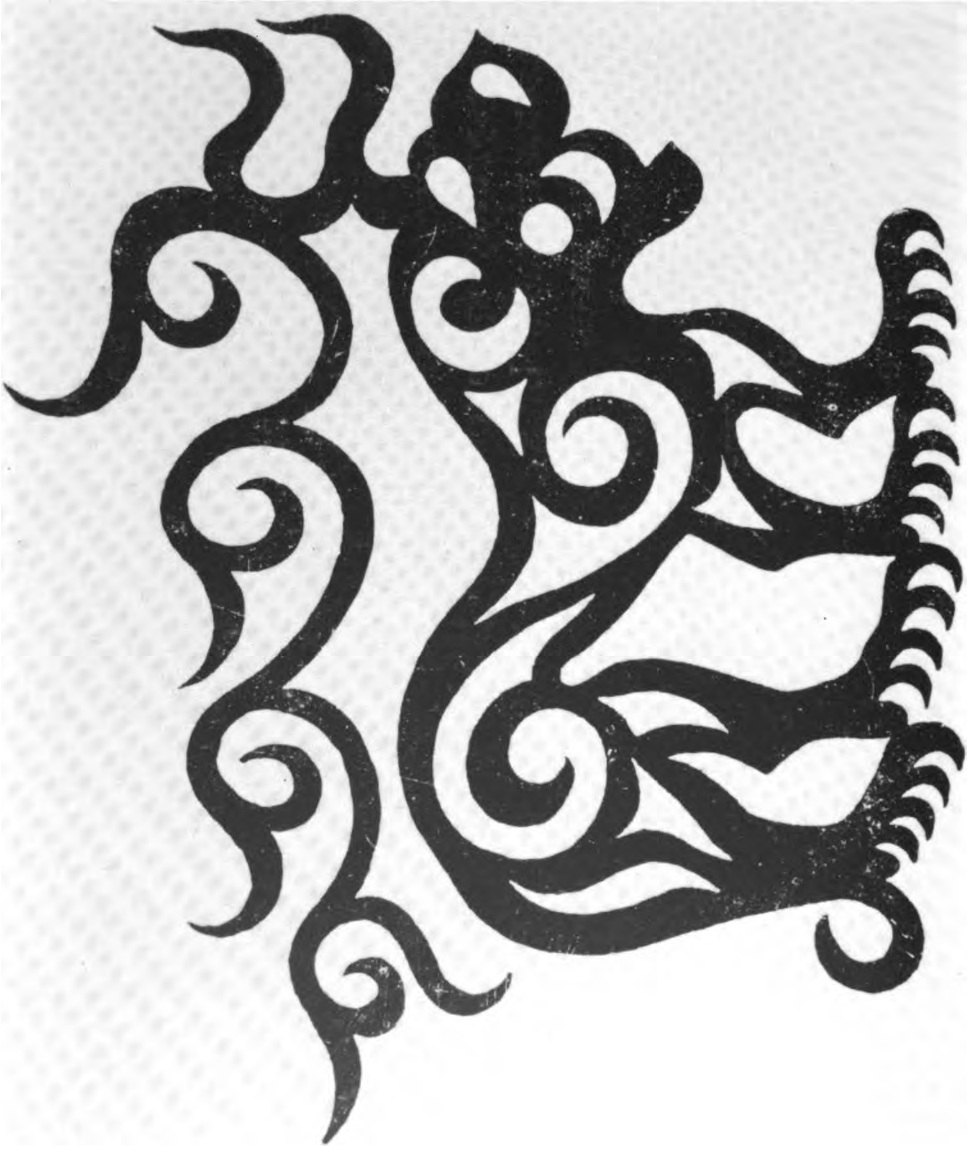

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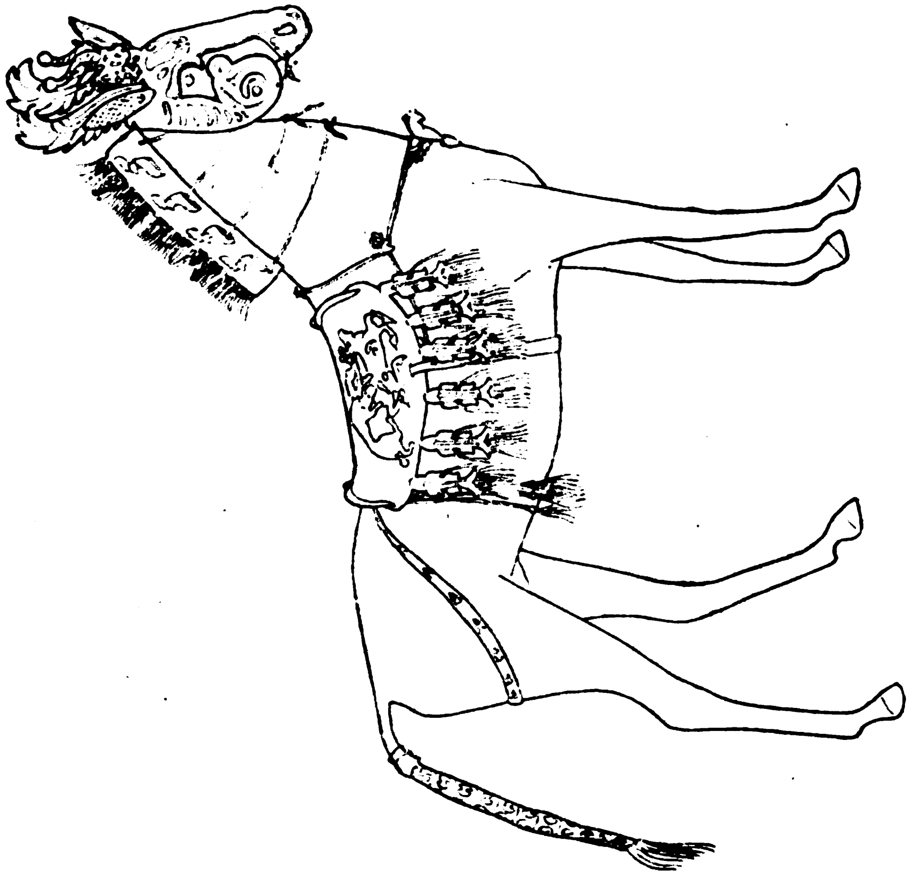

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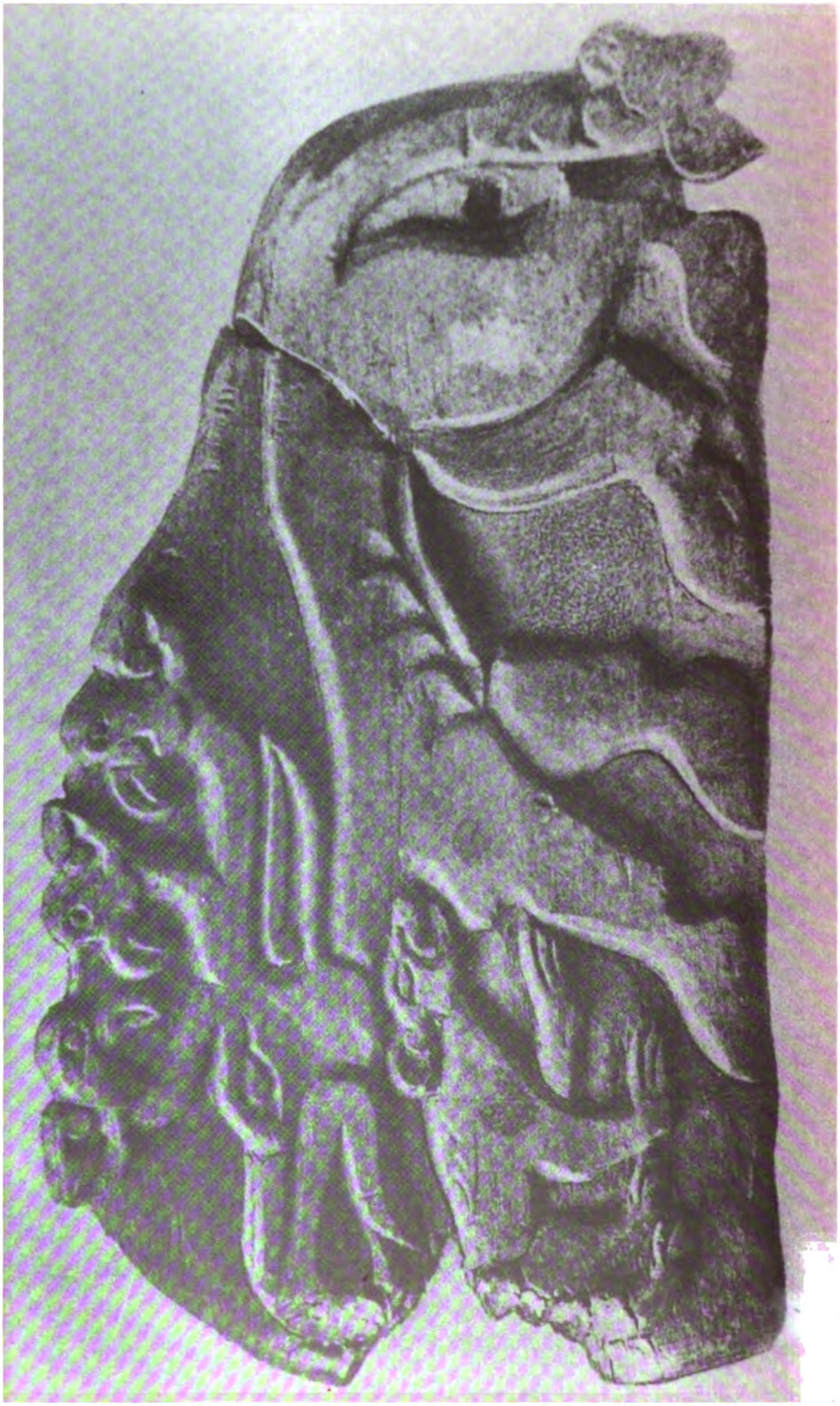

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